

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL BI-MONTHLY.

VOL. XIX. — NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1893. — No. CXIV.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY: ITS PRESENT CLAIM
AND ATTRACTION.¹

It is quietly assumed in many quarters that the special charm of the Christian ministry is broken; that the distinctive attraction of this field of labor is in large measure irretrievably lost. Robbed of the position and prestige it once held in the intellectual no less than in the moral and spiritual sphere, the ministry, it is said, can no longer urge the claims or present the opportunities of other days, — not merely of the ages past, but even of forty or fifty years ago. In the changes that have passed over modern life, older rivals have gained a precedence before denied, and new rivals have arisen to dispute the prize. To these changes, it is added, the ministry must resign itself, with such grace as it may, begin to take a lower room, and, as a consequence, be content with the service of inferior men. In a word, though the ministry will doubtless long survive, — for our generation has learned that nothing dies at once, — it will survive in a state of mild decadence, a lingering autumn which delays but cannot turn aside the killing frost; while the higher, spiritual uses it once served will be gradually taken up and absorbed by other callings, which in turn will draw away the energies of active, earnest, and thoughtful minds.

All this, it is true, is seldom put in words: it is assumed, far oftener than asserted. Hence, to many of my hearers, so plain and blunt a statement as this may seem improbable and over-

¹ The following paper was prepared and delivered by its author upon his inauguration, Sept. 20, 1893, as Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Lecturer on Pastoral Theology in Andover Theological Seminary. — Eds.

drawn. And, in the close and sheltered circles in which some minds still move, even the suggestion here clothed in words may sound unnatural, almost blasphemous indeed. Yet it needs but little acquaintance with the world of to-day, whether we touch in person its busy, widening life, or catch its manifold reflection as mirrored in literature, to discover how common this quiet assumption has grown to be. It meets us in the novel, the romance, the lighter essay. It colors the graver discussion of scientific, ethical, and social problems. It gives a tone, a hue, an air, to magazines and reviews; the daily prints are tinctured with it. It lurks below the language of men of science, of business, of society, of the world: it affects their bearing toward the minister with easy tolerance or light disdain: it shades and shapes their advice to young men who pause before they choose their calling.

Sometimes, however, this assumption comes to the surface, and finds direct expression, — is laid down, indeed, as a maxim beyond dispute. Ten years ago, an English scholar, himself a preacher, published an essay on "The Decay of Modern Preaching,"¹ in which the fact of such decay was plainly accepted, remedies were hardly suggested, and the causes alone were considered a subject for discussion. Within the last few weeks, however, the assertion has been made in still clearer terms by a newspaper of exceptional intelligence and independence. With an air of easy omniscience tempered by condescension, the editor writes as follows: "This socialistic preaching is to be deplored because it weakens the already relaxed hold of the clergy upon educated men. The Church, of course, no longer attracts the ablest of our college graduates as of old, but it is quite possible for men of moderate intellectual gifts to influence their hearers if they will follow the methods and precepts of their Leader." And again, in the same article: "The proportion of educated men who refuse altogether to listen to sermons is considerable, and the average attendance of such men at church seems to be diminishing. Many still attend the established services from motives of decorum: but if their pastors could look through the grave and respectful expressions that mask their thoughts, and see the emotions of pity for intellectual feebleness and contempt for ignorance which are held in restraint, they might learn that their only strength lies in the possession and the proclamation of humility and charity."² Humility and charity are an edifying

¹ J. H. Mahaffy, *The Decay of Modern Preaching*. 1882.

² *The Nation*, May 25, 1893. Editorial on "Christian Socialism."

lesson indeed, and a lesson it is always timely to learn, whether the example of the teacher confirms his precept or not. But the chief burden of this *concio ad clerum* is precisely this assumption before us. Within the narrowed province which bounds its present influence, the writer more than hints, the ministry can no longer claim the service of minds of the first order, but must expect to see them drawn into wider and more promising fields, thus leaving at best only second-rate men to become the preachers and pastors of to-morrow.

Now, minds of the first order are not common in any age or in any calling in life, and it is by "men of moderate intellectual gifts" that the world's work is mainly done. I have no desire, however, to discuss the *personnel* of the different professions, and comparisons are proverbially odious. Still less have I any fear with regard to the permanent place and work of the Christian ministry, established as it is on the same divine foundations with the Christian church, and with Christianity itself. But it seems to me not unfitting, on the threshold of the new work to which I have been called, and in contrast to the quiet assumption already noticed, to dwell upon the distinctive claims and attractions of the ministry to-day. New emphasis certainly should be laid, not indeed upon what remains of earlier interest and influence after all deductions have been made, but rather upon the special claim and charm which grow out of the present, which have accrued to preacher and pastor alike from the very changes through which we have passed. For when once the needs, the demands, and the difficulties of our age are fairly understood, the Christian ministry, I am convinced, offers a richer opportunity and makes a stronger appeal than ever before to the largest and best disciplined intelligence, no less than to the heart that seeks the highest service of mankind.

With the duties of the pastorate fresh in memory, and more familiar than the duties of this chair, I shall speak now as a preacher, not as a teacher. But those who are preparing to become ministers of the Word, beside the special knowledge and training amply provided here, need also the inspiration that comes from a broad view of their great charge, if the man of God is to be complete, furnished completely unto every good work. And if the duties and demands of their calling enlarge upon the view, let them remember that the charm of the vision widens with the horizon, and the promise and presence of the Master are broad and near to cover every need.

What, then, is the distinctive attraction, the peculiar charm, of the ministry to-day? What features does this calling now present which make up for any apparent advantages it has lost, and by which, even more than in other days, it appeals to the highest powers, as it calls forth and rewards the largest effort and devotion? And how are this claim and charm related to the charm and claim of other departments of thought and interest? These questions will mark the direction to which our attention must now be turned.

If there is one outstanding peculiarity in the intellectual effort of to-day, one feature upon which the finger may safely be put as distinctive, it is this: an intense feeling for movement, progress, growth, life. It is this which within one crowded century has revolutionized the sciences of the past and called new sciences into being. This is the new spirit of which men speak. It is this profound sense of the subtle, unbroken relations that bind all forms of life together, individual and social, past, present, and future, which has made men impatient of all partial, narrow, isolated interpretations of facts and phenomena, and distrustful of all theories that claim completeness, where ignorance is veiled under specious assumptions of omniscience. Method, no less than matter, has been transformed by this spirit. The ambitious systems of the past, with the dogmatism of believer and skeptic alike, of Rousseau and Voltaire no less than of Aquinas and Calvin, have given place to more modest hypotheses, held below the fact, not above it, with conscious and confessed limitations of ignorance and partial view, ready to be revised or superseded whenever some larger truth or some plainer fact shall come to light. This sense, this method, and this spirit we find at work everywhere. Although most apparent at first among the interpreters of life in nature and life in man, even the sciences of inert matter and mechanical movement have shared their influence. Under this impulse indeed, matter is no longer inert, and movement no more mechanical. Astronomy, geology, and physics have felt the change. "Within the last quarter of a century," writes Camille Flammarion, "our sublime science has been wholly transformed. Instead of watching inert masses in motion through the void of space, the study of the universe as related to the physical constitution of the different worlds, the evolution of the stars and of life, has taken its place."¹ Forces once supposed to be latent or lost, geology discovers still at work, and allows no break to sep-

¹ *North American Review*, January, 1890.

arate the present from the past. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the new conception of organic life from its humblest origin to its highest reach. Evolution is the keynote to all our thought; and, however the word may be limited or defined, three great truths are firmly established: first, a close, continuous, mutual relation exists between all forms and parts of the visible universe; second, no unpeopled void is found between worm and man, between star and soul; and, third, as a consequence, no object can be too remote, and no form of life too lowly, to claim our interest. The years of patient observation which Darwin gave to the earth-worm and Sir John Lubbock to the ant teach us that no creature that has shared the Creator's thought and touch is unworthy of our prolonged and reverent study. The higher the forms and the more varied the phases life affords, the more intense our human interest becomes. Man is not forgotten in this all-embracing passion and research. His individual life and thought, from the lowest savage to the sage and saint, have been traced with unwearied pains. His societies, his civilizations, have been patiently studied in their crudest as well as their highest forms, in rock and monument and in surviving fault and strata, at cost of sacrifice worthy of the martyrs of the faith. The inscriptions of Assyria, dumb for long centuries, speak again to the ear and through the lips of a Rawlinson, and the mummied monarchs of Egypt leave their sepulchred pomp and silence to become the familiars, almost the household friends, of a Mariette. Thus history is clothed with life, and the prehistoric past is made to breathe and move once more. The same great change transforms the world in which we live. The peoples of the present, remote and hostile before, begin by closer contact and better mutual understanding to realize their kinship. The curse of Babel is reversed, and the miracle of Pentecost renewed, when long isolated languages are brought together and recognized as hardly more than dialects of a common speech. Literature, refusing the narrow bounds of the classic, becomes cosmopolite, and welcomes all genuine treasure, whatever be its source. A hundred myths and legends melt in one, and under the most grotesque exterior we feel through all religions the need, the aspiration, and the soul of man.

How much the material progress of our age, its marvelous inventions, its multiplied facilities, must count as factors in this result, we cannot fail to own. But it is the intellectual movement with which we have to deal, and through all of this the

sense of life with its progress and continuity is evident and distinctive.

It is not claimed, of course, that this sense of life has been born out of nothing, or absolutely created, in a single age. This spirit has always been present in the world, disputing its place with a coarser, mechanical conception. Within narrow limits, and in separate realms of thought, it has made the glory of every creative age, as in letters at the Renaissance, or in religion at the Reformation. But in all these ages, barriers were interposed, the spirit at work in one sphere did not extend to another, inert matter and lifeless mechanism maintained their ground. To-day, for the first time, the feeling is for life everywhere, for life with its unbroken continuity and progress, for life infinitely varied and manifold yet forever one. It is one universal, living force, which, we have discovered in a truer sense than the poet dreamed,

" Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees ;
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent." ¹

What, then, is the relation of the Christian ministry to this mighty and far reaching change? How far has it been caught up and borne on by this current of new life? Has it felt a stronger impulse, found a larger mission, brought a new message for to-day? On the answer to these questions our whole discussion turns. No isolation of interest and influence is possible. If the ministry enters into this universal movement, if it is sensitive to this far-reaching change, it will share in the results, and find in these a fresh attraction for thoughtful minds. If the ministry stands unchanged, while all else moves onward, its former charm may well be broken, for it has lost the prophetic spirit. Like the prophets of old, the preacher must speak from life, through life, and unto life, if his message is to be heard and heeded.

Considered in its ideal, no calling touches human life at so many points as the Christian ministry. None, therefore, should feel the change on which we have dwelt so widely, none should profit more by its results. And none should find the present time a more inspiring field for service. The spirit of the age both quickens the preacher's pulse and appeals to him for his message. To bear witness to the presence of an unseen life, above, below, around our finite lives, has always been his office,

¹ Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man*.

to make men feel that life has been his triumph ; when this witness has grown cold, formal, and mechanical, his state has suffered decadence and eclipse. To-day, like St. Paul on Mars' Hill, he finds his teaching attuned to the deepest thought of his age. Our poetry, in accents now pensive, now profound, cries through the lips of Egypt's king : —

“ If thou be He that made the earth and skies,
To thine own creature come without disguise.
Long have I blindly groped around thy throne,
But the sense sees not what the heart has known.
I strain for thee, I gaze with eager nerves,
But my glance backward to my eyeballs curves ;
To meet thine arms my arms I fling abroad ;
My arms fold on me, vacant of the God.
Upon the dark I paint thy secret face,
But night holds nothing in her hollow space.
Dost thou not see my tears, not hear my cry ?
I cannot see nor hear, yet know thee nigh.
I feel thee in the dust-wreaths of the plain,
And in the rare, quick drops of sacred rain :
I seek thee round the corners of the rocks,
Or on the riverain pasture of the flocks ;
And thou art there, but art not there for me : —
Take all the world, all else I yield to thee :
But I must see the God before I die.”¹

Our philosophy still worships an Unknown God, but dares to think over his thoughts, and even divine his attributes of intelligence and power. Our science begins to look through phenomena and ask for mind, and utters these significant words, first spoken two years ago within these very walls by a master of unquestioned authority : “ In the study of the successions exhibited by animals and plants it has been perceived that the march of events from the primitive simplicity towards greater and greater complication, culminating in man, requires us to assume the existence of something like permanent guiding influences operating in the world of matter.”²

In France, always sensitive as a barometer to anticipate changes in the atmosphere of thought, the need of “ permanent guiding influences ” in the moral universe is also felt, and the direction toward which men must look to find them is plainly hinted. Saul also is found among the prophets, when Renan foresees the possible return of the world, wearied with the succes-

¹ Francis Turner Palgrave, *Amenophis*.

² N. S. Shaler, *The Interpretation of Nature*, p. 46.

sive bankruptcies of liberalism, to the Jehovah of the Hebrews. And Darmesteter, a savant of the younger school, finds in the teaching of the prophets the only hope for his own generation, borrowing the prophecy of Amos, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord,"¹ and pointing to his own land for its fulfillment: "And to-day also the fair virgins and young men look in vain from one sea to the other; from no rock bursts the spring which shall quench the thirst of the soul; the divine word is not in Ibsen, and it is not in Tolstoi even, and neither from the North nor from the East cometh the light."² These three voices, of poet, man of science, and critic, are not isolated and unique; typical are they rather, and representative; they speak the temper of the time; they breathe the feeling of multitudes of men and women all around us, unfamiliar with discovery or research, yet touched and troubled by this atmosphere of unrest, with no firm hold on the certainties of the unseen, but conscious that the things which can be seen and weighed and measured can never feed the hunger of the heart. In such an age, the need for ministry has surely not been outgrown: was it ever greater than now? "From my earliest childhood," a physician once said to me, "I can never remember a time when the sight of physical pain did not call out in me the instant impulse and effort to relieve it." No diploma from the schools could have conferred on him a better title to practice medicine; no emolument of fame or money could equal the charm he found in his profession. In the presence of spiritual suffering, the minister of Christ must feel a kindred impulse: with this impulse in his heart, he may hear his Master's call in the half unconscious need and longing of his fellow-men, and, never more truly than to-day, may enter through the service and relief of his brethren into the very joy of his Lord. "My idea of heaven," said Tennyson, "is to be engaged in perpetual ministry to souls in this and other worlds."³ And the saintly hero of whom Whittier sings, served troubled souls around him, and found in that service the highest blessing:—

¹ Amos viii. 11-13.

² J. Darmesteter, *Les Prophètes d'Israel*, iv. "Et aujourd'hui aussi les belles filles et les jeunes gens regardent en vain d'une mer à l'autre; de nul rocher ne jaillit la source où étancher la soif de l'âme: la parole divine n'est point dans Ibsen et elle n'est point dans Tolstoï même, et ni du Nord ni du Levant ne vient la lumière."

³ Quoted from conversation, by Agnes Grace Weld, in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1893.

"He forgot his own-soul for others,
Himself to his neighbor lending :
He found his Lord in his suffering brothers,
And not in the clouds descending." ¹

But impulse alone, however unselfish, is not enough for service. Effort must be trained and directed, to become effective; sympathy must be broadened and made intelligent, before it can give relief. The preacher must know the truth he brings and the times he serves. The pastor must study closely society around him, as well as the individual hearts to whom he is called to minister. The changes of our age have been felt in all these directions: in them all, the new conditions and the new spirit must be recognized and understood. The problems to be met are more varied and complex than those of old. But the higher life rises in its level, the more complex it grows of necessity, and the more varied it becomes, the greater the charm of study and service. The play of changeful circumstance across a background calm and unchanging delights the eye and the mind. It is the charm of the mountain in its eternal patience, touched to new meanings by moving masses of shadow; of the sea, forever tranquil below the restless tossing of the waves; of the sky in its pure untroubled depths of blue, far above the passing clouds of gold and amber. It is the charm of the highest poetry from Æschylus to Shakespeare; of the unshaken mind of Prometheus in contrast with the turbid wrath of Zeus and the trembling terror of his creatures; of the calm constancy of Cordelia and the white purity of Desdemona amid the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion all around them. Realized in its deeper meaning, it has been the strength of prophets and martyrs and apostles, who through the things that could be seen and shaken held fast to the things unseen and unchanging. And through all the changes of to-day, the charm and strength alike are his who, while others cling to broken spars of scattered truths, rests firmly on that Providence which shapes and guides the course of men and ages by ways unsearchable but sure, —

"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves." ²

With this spirit and confidence, we turn to study more closely

¹ John G. Whittier, *G. L. S.*

² Alfred Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, last stanza.

the effects produced by the changed conceptions and conditions of to-day in the several directions already indicated: first, in the meaning and interpretation of the minister's message; second, upon the society to which he speaks; and third, in the individual lives entrusted to his special care. In each direction, if his task has become more difficult and complex, the attraction is also doubled, while the sense of life with its continuity and its progress, ever varied yet forever one, has grown larger, deeper, and more absorbing.

I. The source of his message claims our first attention. The preacher is always the minister of the Word, and the Scriptures remain the channel of the divine message. But there is a wide difference between the ways in which men have regarded and used the Scriptures. The humble soul indeed has always found here the hidden manna. The great preachers, preachers who have moved men's hearts as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind, have never failed to draw their fire and energy from this source. These results have been possible under interpretations, crude and literal on the one hand, wild and visionary on the other. They prove the power of the Spirit through all the hindrance of the flesh. Patristic allegory, mediæval myth and legend, the mystic's glowing imagination, the hard prosaic system of the literalist, — not one, nor all, of these could always dim the heavenly light. But while we recognize the Providence that overruled human folly, we find therein no sanction for these false and forced interpretations of the Word.

The great, creative ages in the Church rose to larger views of the Scriptures, and caught glimpses of the richly varied wisdom they reveal. But the mechanism of dogma, or the fanciful search for symbols, soon closed in and hindered the influence of the freer conception. To-day, the revolution throughout all realms of thought has transformed the study of the Bible also. Mechanical conceptions, the absurdities of symbolism, have gone, to return no more. The new method affects even those who least accept the critical result. That method of thinking you cannot escape, if you think at all. And the distinctive feature of this new conception of Scripture is the same which was pointed out before, the sense of life, in all its wonderful variety and movement, throughout the whole. Luther discovered that Paul's words were living things, with hands and feet. We have found that every Scripture, —

"If cut deep down the middle,

Shows a heart within blood-tinctured, of a veined humanity."¹

The special questions of criticism it does not fall within my province to discuss. They must be left to competent hands. They do not belong to the preacher's sphere. They demand a combination of time, talents, and patient training which he cannot give. Hasty verdicts in this department by men of good intentions, but deficient in modesty and judgment, are as unfortunate as verdicts of kindred character and origin upon strictly scientific questions. A common training in theology, and a reader's familiarity with the languages in which the Bible was written, enable the preacher to follow the general trend of criticism with intelligence and advantage, but no more entitle him to pronounce upon difficult and disputed points than the physician's license and practice make him a competent judge in the special questions of biology. But the preacher's great message will not grow less clear, strong, and imperative as he faces new interpretations of the Scriptures. And if he follows carefully the advance of enlightened and reverent scholarship, he will welcome the largest, freest investigation, waiting with patience the slow results of years, very confident that the treasure is not less heavenly because the vessels are earthen, and that here also the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word.

But there are special ways in which this changed conception of the Scriptures and their organic life must widen and vitalize the preacher's use of the Word, and enlarge the interest and power of his ministry. Of these effects, some are negative, some positive.

A higher regard for the original meaning and relation of each separate Scripture is a first evident advantage to the preacher. The fantastic treatment of the Bible by the pulpit of other days, sometimes, alas! in our own, is familiar to all. Like the Master's raiment in the hands of the Roman soldiery, the sacred vesture of Scripture has been rent asunder and the division made by lot. If these irreverent extremes have been rare, how often passages have been used with little care for their first sense and connection! Texts, torn from the woven fabric, have been held up in shreds and patches: words, robbed of their rightful meaning, forced to yield strange, unnatural senses, by trick of translation or outward resemblance. I need hardly allude to further distortion by which the plainest passages were turned to mysticism or

¹ Mrs. Browning, *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*.

metaphysics. All this is possible, while Scripture is regarded as mechanism or dead anatomy. All this becomes impossible, when Scripture is felt to be informed with full, pervading, breathing life.

The preacher who feels this life informing all the Scriptures will shrink from the plain irreverence of all careless vivisection. His texts will not be isolated, nor their natural meaning strained. Neither indolence nor timidity will tempt him to take up current mistranslations or renderings misapplied. His Bible will never become an armory of weapons for controversy, nor a quarry whence stones may be cut to buttress mediæval or modern theories. He will not overlook the broad sweep of Revelation, on the one hand; he will not force one doubtful passage on the other, — not even to save the consistency of the whole. Open and sensitive to changing light, his errors may be outgrown, and his truths will never become stereotyped in lifeless formulas.

Each several Scripture will thus have an individual teaching, and, as a second advantage, the preacher's message will gain in variety, in point, in force. The dullness of mere repetition is a besetting temptation of the pulpit. When the Bible is only a book of texts, all equally available at every turn, the narrowness of the preacher's mind and experience becomes the measure and limit of his teaching. The same meagre round of truth and duty, viewed in the same familiar light, cast in the same monotonous forms, will make up his weekly burden. Each mind is only a pool, stagnant and unwholesome, unless its life is constantly renewed by currents from without. How changed, then, the preacher's message becomes, when at every point he touches the varied life of Scripture! Each scene, each character, each utterance, has a meaning of its own, the common truths take individual color and force, and the whole range of his teaching is widened. It was his faithful study of rock and brook, with the humblest wild flower on the edge of each, that lent varied grace to Sir Walter Scott's descriptions. He who follows Nature closely makes her lavish wealth in some measure his own. And he who draws from each Scripture its individual lesson will never become the slave of dullness and repetition.

Beyond the enrichment of each several interpretation, the new sense of life and power flowing through all Revelation counts as a blessing to the preacher. Inspiration itself he cannot conceive as confined within an artificial reservoir, motionless through all time, unchanged in form, in depth, in level; he views it as a

river, rather, with widening, deepening course from source to sea; he feels its presence as a divine life, mingling with the currents of human life, revealed through individual and national history, with ever growing depth and clearness. With such a vision, dogmatic losses, if losses they be, are transmuted into higher gain. The power of Revelation the preacher finds not static but dynamic, not mechanical but vital. It comes from life, it flows through life; the life of a chosen race under the old dispensation, the life of a widening church under the new; the individual life of prophet and apostle under both. And in the blending of divine and human at every stage, neither element is lost or lessened: both become broader and deeper with each further unfolding, until the heart turns to the Spirit through all Scripture as the most devout of our poets turns to the Word Incarnate:—

“Deep strike thy roots, O heavenly Vine,
Within our ea-thly sod,
Most human and yet most divine,
The flower of man and God.”¹

Both the larger life of race and church and the individual life of prophet and apostle have become more human, more real, and thus are brought into closer relation to other life, to our own lives. The sacred story, no longer isolated, but subject like other history to change and growth, becomes more truly a lesson for the world. Around the name of the great Lawgiver, the Law of Israel grows by successive layers and accretions, like the codes of Rome or England. Beneath the shadow of Solomon, the proverbs which a nation's wisdom has coined through generations from many dies are gathered in one golden treasury. Through the Psalter, set first in tune to David's harp, but richer and more varied in tone than any individual life, the Jewish Church pours forth her strains of changing experience through ages of sorrow, exile, exultation, sweeps the wide gamut of religious feeling, and blends in her eternal song the sigh of each burdened heart with the aspiration of the whole church of God.

The revelation through individual life, also, has become richer and more distinct. Each prophet stands in his own place and bears his own message: he is not a mouthpiece but a voice, not a pen but a person, a preacher of righteousness first to his age, and then to later ages. Even if his name is lost, we feel his heart and life: the second Isaiah is not less real a presence than the first.

¹ John G. Whittier, *Our Master*.

And from the broken sobs of Hosea and the scathing philippic of Amos to the richer personality of Jeremiah, sensitive, tender, passionate, each prophet's power is doubled when we feel the man below the message. Restored to their local setting, the Epistles of the New Testament are filled with life again: the needs of the readers become as real as the writer's heart. Through the Gospels even, unconscious touches betray the Evangelist, his personal feeling and his point of view.

The Scriptures plainly grow more human under this changed conception; but, further, they become thereby not less but more divine. As the human life in prophet and apostle, in race and church, grows more real to the preacher's thought, and comes closer to his heart and life to-day, so the divine life through all is felt as richer and more real. Revelation through life is, of necessity, larger than Revelation through mechanism; and the higher and more varied the life through which it flows, the deeper and richer Revelation itself becomes. At every stage of the sacred story the Spirit, we feel, breathes upon the Word; while in the movement, progress, life, making the whole organic, we find a larger revelation of divine, creative thought. Whatever similarities are discovered between the earlier Scriptures and the records of other races, there can be no question of a higher purpose, a purer motive, moulding the common material. No prophetic message fails to disclose some clearer insight than before was given; no psalm but mingles inspiration with aspiration. And from the first faint dawn of the Protevangelium to the broad noonday of the Gospel, from the earliest strivings of the Spirit with man to the perfect man in Christ, is discerned, now dimly, now more clearly, that "one far-off divine event, to which" Revelation like "the whole creation moves."

Above all else, however, the distinct and absolute supremacy of the Master, in his Person and in his claim, is the largest gain the preacher finds in the changed conception of the Scriptures. Always recognized in theory of course, this supremacy has been sadly forgotten in fact. The Roman Church has put the Person of Peter in his Master's place: Protestantism has too often put the teaching of Paul before, if not above, his Master's word. Peter's language to Cornelius, "Stand up; I myself also am a man," and Paul's indignant disclaimer at Lystra, "Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you," may teach us how both apostles would have refused this borrowed worship. But a higher voice has spoken: "One is your Master;

and all ye,"—Paul and Peter among the rest,—“all ye are brethren.” From these temptations of the past, the preacher of to-day is free. He cannot longer bring the New Testament down to the level of the Old; he cannot make Christ the Interpreter of Paul. The very limitation and finiteness of the human servant set off the higher glory of the divine, the only begotten Son. Reflected through different hearts and lives, the Person of the Master shines forth the more transcendent: contrasted with all broken lights before Him and after Him, with the divers portions and divers manners of prophetic revelation, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, or with the partial vision to which even Paul confessed, ἀρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, His teaching regains its rightful place and its unique authority. His supreme Revelation becomes the crown and centre of the preacher's message. “Back to Christ” is the watchword for all interpretation of the past: “Onward to Christ,” the call of the Spirit for to-day. With this result secure, the changing cloud of criticism that overshadows us may be dark or bright, we need not fear to enter it; other voices may grow silent, other forms may fade, one Form will still remain,—One Voice will still speak from the cloud: “This is my beloved Son; hear him.”

Such, then, is the source of the preacher's message to-day. Such is the living Word he is sent to interpret to his age. The largest, profoundest learning he can command, he may well call to his aid. From other literatures and histories and faiths he may draw whatever lessons they can teach. He may welcome all new light of scholarship, discovery, research. But with a Scripture so varied and vital in every part, informed and knit together by one organic growing life, in the highest sense both human and divine, a hundred broken rays of one Eternal Light, he need not fear that his study will lose its interest, or his source of inspiration be exhausted.

II. A second broad direction in which the minister is affected by the changed conditions of to-day is in the sphere and local setting of his work. The community, society, the church, each of these three concentric circles that surround his life, shares the stir and restless movement of the age. Throughout our country, in New England as in the West, in village as in city, the changes the age has wrought, and the contrast with thirty years ago, are many and striking. These changes the preacher must take into account if he would adapt his message to present needs; these new conditions will absorb the pastor's closest study and task his best intelligence.

An English country parson of to-day, less quaint in flavor but more virile than his earlier namesake, speaking for his brethren, counts the "absolute finality" of their position its most cheerless and trying feature. "Dante's famous line," he writes, "ought to be carved upon the lintel of every country parsonage in England. When the new rector on his induction takes the key of the church, locks himself in, and tolls the bell, it is his own passing bell that he is ringing." And again: "This boasted fixity of tenure is the weak point, not the strong one; it is movement we want among us, not stagnation."¹ This fixity, this finality might have been found in many a New England parish fifty years ago; how strange and remote these conditions seem to us to-day! The frequent changes in modern pastorates are due in part no doubt to the unhappy restlessness of people and pastor; in part, also, it must be admitted, they grow out of the larger and more varied demands now made upon the minister, exhausting his strength and necessitating relief through change of field. A pastorate of ten years brings more of varied experience to the pastor now than a pastorate of twenty years once brought. And even the nearest parishes differ so widely from one another to-day that every change involves the awakening of new interests and the careful study of new conditions and problems.

While the pastorate remains the same, moreover, the parish undergoes a constant, all-pervading change. Ten years mean more in the parish now than twenty years meant half a century ago. The whole complexion, the very atmosphere, of our social life a single generation has changed. In cities and large towns the difference is recognized at once: it is real, though less perceptible, in villages also. The sleepest hamlet, stagnant and duller to the stranger's eye

"than the fat weed

That rots itself in ease on Lethe wharf,"²

has not escaped untouched; the patient observer finds, the pastor feels, even there the pathos and the tragedy of hidden change.

Twenty-five years ago, the typical New England village was homogeneous in character and simple in life. Hardly a foreigner could be found among a population born and bred in the same community, for the most part in the same houses. Diversities there were, for our New England stock has always been rich in

¹ Augustus Jessopp, *The Trials of a Country Parson*, pp. 85, 94.

² Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, i. 5.

original varieties, but the common types of character, the broad currents of habit, thought, and life remained unchanged almost for generations. Neighbors in place were neighbors in fact, and the life of the village was like the life of a large and overgrown family. The church was easily the centre of social interest, and the Sunday meeting drew families together from scattered farms, the sole relief to the monotony and unvarying routine of daily life. How different the New England village of to-day! The homogeneous life, broken up within, has grown heterogeneous from without, almost cosmopolite indeed. The great tides of immigration, setting in for years from every part of Europe, and later from Asia also, have turned aside from the broad course of the West, overflowed the bounds of the city, and reached the larger villages; while the less noticed influx from the provinces on our Northern border has been felt in smaller hamlets and scattered farms. In outward aspect, in population, affected in her turn and measure like the other States, New England remains no more the staid, conservative, unchanging community of thirty years ago.

Under this outward aspect, deeper and more vital differences are found. Industrial changes, added to the change of population, have modified our social customs, individual habits, ways of thought. The framework of society is subtly altered. Interests are isolated, men have grown apart: a common feeling is lost, mutual indifference succeeds, classes are strongly marked and separated. The simpler conditions of the past have gone; relations grow strained, new social problems arise, ethical questions become multiplied and complex. Differences in thought and life, growing out of differences of inheritance, birth, training, and association, are not lightly overcome. Men misunderstand one another, and a common standard is lost.

Nor can these difficulties be studied in their local setting alone. The little world of the village opens by a hundred avenues into the larger world without. Intercourse is unbroken; the daily paper carries the common thought, opinion, prejudice, to the farthest point, diffuses common intelligence and common ignorance, and makes all problems, all troubles, however local or distant in their beginnings, a burden to be borne by all. The tide of change reaches the remotest village with restless ebb and flow, and the mighty pulses of the great world's life are felt to-day in the lowliest hamlet.

Under such conditions, what new significance is given to Wes-

ley's motto, in whichever way the words are turned! "My parish is the world," every pastor may say, as he reflects on all the diverse elements that meet in the smallest community, and remembers from what distant quarters these elements have been drawn! "The world is my parish," he may add, when he finds his people's thoughts and feelings affected by events so far away, and feels their lives drawn slowly but surely into the current of the great world's movement! Is stagnation necessary in such a pastorate? Is it even possible?

But the pastor must be more than a passive observer, a curious and interested witness, in the midst of these shifting scenes; he must be an actor on the stage. Nor is it enough, if his individual part is taken well; he is called to give motive and harmony to the movement of others. Here is incentive to largest effort: here is room for the exercise of patience, the discipline of thought, sagacious and far-sighted. Has any age made more demands than this?

The church cannot remain untouched by these changes all around her; she must hear and heed the call of each new occasion. If her members grow lethargic, it is the pastor's task to awaken them, and set more clearly before their eyes the duties of to-day. In each community, along all lines of modern movement, in society, business, politics, the highest Christian principle, as already understood, needs to be made effective and paramount by the influence of an aroused, united church. Religious problems, also, more complex than in other days, demand for their solution larger intelligence and charity, sympathy and patience. The diverse elements in every church, all ages and all classes, must be not simply harmonized, but lifted into some broader union, knit together as members of one body by diverse yet mutual service. Organization, so potent a factor in all our work to-day, must be extended here and informed with life, until the church has brought her special blessing near the whole community and home to every heart. Above all, the old, original gospel, a common Father, a common Master, a common brotherhood, a common life, pure, sweet, and strong, as in the earliest Christian age, freed from all subtleties of metaphysics, whether Greek or Roman, whether mediæval or modern, made plain to meet each daily need, most human because most divine, must come with growing clearness from the preacher's lips, and through the life of preacher and of people too, until all men understand and feel its power. How large, how difficult, this task must prove, how slowly its

results will come, no pastor need be told. But he who in the hardest field holds this ideal steadfastly before his own eyes and before his church, finds interest and courage as the years go on ; and he who believes the gospel still divine will never doubt the large fulfillment yet to come. Meanwhile, the very discipline of every day develops mind and heart, enlarges his experience, deepens his love for all humanity around him, and gives his ministry an ever varied and absorbing claim and charm.

III. A third and last direction in which the minister feels the changed conditions of to-day is in the cure of souls. I like this good old phrase which has too largely passed out of use. It lays the emphasis on the pastor's special work ; it makes distinct and imperative the individual relation in which he stands to every member of his church and parish, the claim of every heart on his peculiar care.

This close and individual relation to every soul has always been ideal, rather than actual, indeed ; an object to be held in view, not an end at any time attained. And the possibilities of fulfilling this charge to-day would seem at first far less than in other days. To the ordinary observer, indeed, there is no respect in which the function of the ministry and the life of the parish have changed more evidently and more completely than this. We have read in religious histories and memoirs, and our mothers and fathers have told us, how the minister of other days made his stated round of the parish, gathering each family together in turn, the parents with their children, and questioning each person in regard to his spiritual welfare and his knowledge of the Bible and the catechism. This custom has wholly passed away, and cannot be revived under present conditions ; and this, it is said, was clearly faithful pastoral work, a true cure of souls, in place of which no regular and systematic method has been devised, and for which the desultory and often injudicious teaching of the modern Sunday-school is at best a very imperfect substitute. Of the value of this custom in its time and place, and as wisely used, I have no doubt : of the decline in religious knowledge among our people, whatever the cause may be, I fear there can be no question ; and of the insufficiency of the Sunday-school at its best to take the place of definite personal teaching I am also profoundly convinced. But, for all this, the custom here described was never in a strict sense the cure of souls, whatever opportunity it may have opened for further acquaintance with individual hearts ; it belonged to the preacher, to the teacher at least, not

distinctively to the pastor. Catechizing, however useful and excellent, must not be confounded with the cure of souls. And the pastor never has fulfilled his charge until his own soul meets the soul he would help, alone, undistracted, with all the freedom and confidence of personal intimacy. This highest form of ministry was needed and was exercised in other days: it cannot be outgrown; the need, and the opportunity, were never greater, I believe, than now.

The very absence of that religious training common in the past makes this need of personal ministry the greater. Fifty years ago, every man of average intelligence in a New England parish had his memory stored with accepted truths: they were held in the head, it may be, not in the heart; the formulas in which they were cast were narrow and rigid; grave errors grew around the truths, crude superstitions mingled with the teaching in the hearer's mind; but the truths were there, unquestioned, lodged firmly in the thought, a safeguard against temptation, an anchor in trouble. To-day, no such reserve force remains to the man of average intelligence. The old superstitions are gone, but the truths, once solid, seem to him shaken too. He has not thought beyond them, or away from them; he has only been caught up and carried along, unthinking, by the current around him. He has lost the partial, outward support of traditional, inherited, almost unconscious beliefs; he has not found the inward surety of personal faith; he feels himself unanchored, on the open sea, adrift. What he needs is the strength of a brave, calm, Christian friendship, of a faith incarnate in another's life, intelligent, broad, and open of mind; fearless, also, because sure of itself, and far more sure of the Master; able thus in His Name to reach out the hand of ready helpfulness, revealing life through life. Through such faith and friendship, the pastor must fulfill his charge in common life to-day.

Others there are in every parish, fewer in number than the class just mentioned, for whom this personal ministry is yet more needful. These are the young and thoughtful minds, interested in all living movements of our age, sensitive to the modern spirit, questioning all forms, all facts, all faiths, to find a higher truth. Bound by no traditions of the past, unfettered by present convention, they seem to timid minds irreverent. Among older and religious people, both deference and discretion may keep them silent; but the silence only hides the widening distance between their thoughts and the beaten paths behind them. These spirits

also need a friend to win their slow and jealous confidence, call out their full confession, enter into their every doubt; a friend of riper years, taught from his own experience, trained in the Master's school to understanding, sympathy, and patience: skillful to lead, not force, their steps from the few things they still find true to the higher truth not found as yet; able to reveal that higher truth through life before the laggard thought has learned the way. This task of faith and friendship, this personal ministry, may fall indeed to any brave, strong, tender Christian soul; it needs the inward grace alone, no laying on of hands imparts the heavenly gift; but the pastor must surely count this service a sacred, most important part of his mission.

These spirits, and not the men of easier faith and lighter thought, must shape and mould the movement of the church that is to be; out of their difficulties, their doubts, once overcome, their usefulness and strength will grow; their own experience will discipline them to broader, better service. The pastor who wins them builds not for the present only, but for the future; he serves another generation beside his own; he reaches through these consecrated lives a wider circle than his eyes can measure, or his faith can foresee.

How delicate, how difficult, under these conditions the pastor's task has grown! What fine rare gifts of nature and of grace this personal ministry demands! What heavenly wisdom must blend with human tenderness in him who is called to discharge this service! Like the Great Angel of the Gate, in Dante's Vision, the pastor of to-day must bear two keys, one of gold and one of silver. The golden key is the symbol of his true authority within the church, received from Christ himself. The silver key, which always he first puts in use, betokens that wisdom of spiritual adaptation, taught through experience and lowly patience, by which he learns to discern and deal with each heart aright: —

"Più cara è l' una; ma l' altra vuol troppa
D' arte e d' ingegno, avanti che disserri,
Perch' ell' è quella che il nodo disgruppa."¹

"There was no Iron," says a quaint old English writer, — "There was no Iron in any of the Stuff or Utensils of the Sanctuary. Hard and Inflexible Spirits are not fit for the Service of the Church."² The Hard Church, a modern essayist styles men of this type and temper; and their unfitness for the delicate task

¹ Dante, *Purgatorio*, vol. ix. lines 124-126.

² John Edwards, *The Preacher*, vol. i. p. 169.

before us, his own words well point out. "The Hard Church," he writes, "necessarily relies on what may be called the inorganic laws of human thought and action, and ignores the more delicate laws of growth and change discoverable in social and individual character."¹ How fatal this omission! Here lies the key to the whole difficulty; and here, by contrast, we learn what type and temper the pastor's task to-day demands. "The inorganic laws of human thought and action," — how narrow their sphere has grown! "In social and individual character," how much more clearly "the delicate laws of growth and change" are now discerned! With life, not mechanism, the pastor deals to-day; and life, subtle and elusive everywhere, above all in the human spirit, cannot be rudely grasped; it yields alone to the finer touch of love. By understanding, sympathy, and patience, this delicate charge must be fulfilled; and as these graces of the spirit grow, the pastor's life will bring to others, and to himself, the larger blessing.

In the duties of the pastorate, then, as in the broader field of public service and in the interpretation of the Scriptures to his age, the minister of Jesus Christ is called to-day to a mission of unmeasured possibilities and growing power. In this direction, also, as in those already followed, the claim of the ministry is as clear, its work as large, and its attraction as strong as in other days.

Thus, in a manner of necessity discursive, but not desultory, as I hope, I have followed the broad lines along which my subject seemed to lead. With all the widening changes in thought and life to-day, changes affecting our conditions and our conceptions also, the place and claim of the Christian ministry, we find, remain. And if any of its glories, as the world may count them, have passed away, they were only outward: the glory which abides is alone inward and excellet. *Non ministrari, sed ministrare*, was the Master's motto; in ministry, in personal service, not in any honors of place or power, preacher and pastor find their true distinction. Such service the world still needs, needs more indeed for the very changes of the present: a ministry, deep, earnest, spiritual, that speaks from life, — through life, — to life. And with a Scripture to interpret, no longer a dead letter but a living Word, in a society so rich in varied life and movement, to hearts on every hand that yearn for light and help, no more absorbing charge can claim the consecrated soul than such a ministry.

¹ R. H. Hutton, *Theological Essays*, p. 340.

The limitations of my theme have made my view but partial. The great, eternal features of the preacher's and the pastor's work have been lightly touched: the interests which are not changed have not come within my purpose. My task has been to seize distinctive features created or emphasized at least by the changed conditions of to-day. The highest feature I have reserved until the last. I count this an inestimable blessing to preacher and pastor alike: that never more truly than now, under no conditions more fully than under ours, has the minister been called to personal following of his Master, both in the method of his work and in the source and spring of his power. The only authority that carries moral and spiritual weight to-day is the authority of character. And the character of Jesus Christ the world makes its only standard for judging the motives and conduct of his disciples. However impatient it may be with creed and dogma and ritual, it recognizes under all differences of name and communion kinship in deed and character with Him; and for such kinship it shows profoundest reverence. To be like Him must always be the minister's ideal; but lower standards and confusing tests of men how often divert the mind from the higher purpose! How helpful it should prove, when the world's own expectation seeks that supreme and single level! Again, the methods of the Master's ministry, so personal, so delicate, so carefully adapted to individual need, were never more in keeping with the pastor's work than now. And as he studies in each detail the Master's tenderness and searching insight, or strives and prays to catch the gracious spirit that informs the living gospel as a whole, his inward life must grow in likeness to his Lord with each new measure that he gains of the threefold gift of ministry, — understanding, sympathy, and patience.

For thirteen years it has been my privilege to share the work of preacher and of pastor. That work I leave with sincere reluctance, and only at the call of what seems a nearer, but I dare not say a higher, duty. Through all these years, the present opportunity and the great ideal of this calling have grown upon me, until I feel that every preacher, like St. Paul, should glorify his ministry; *δοξάζω* is the Apostle's word. But when I remember how far achievement lags behind ideal, how even this imperfect picture I have drawn puts the reality to shame, I am moved to borrow from St. Gregory, the earliest and still the keenest analyst of the pastor's charge, his closing words: —

“*Dum monstrare qualis esse debeat pastor invigilo, pulchrum*

depinxi hominem pictor fœdus: aliosque ad perfectionis littus dirigo, qui adhuc in delictorum fluctibus versor."¹

It has been the honor of this seat of sacred learning, it has been the honor of this special chair into which I am now inducted, that it has steadfastly upheld a high ideal of the Christian ministry. My three more immediate predecessors had each a distinct and important part in this great work. One sketched in broad and masterly outline the ideal of a strong and intellectual preacher. Another filled in the picture with almost infinite fineness of detail. The third inspired the preacher's heart with visions of wider fields of service and of conquest. To keep these fair ideals fresh and living still, as in the dear and memorable days gone by, and to help my younger brethren to realize and seize the growing opportunities, the urgent claims, the distinctive attractions, of the ministry to-day, is the task to which, with the blessing of God, I would now devote my life.

Theodore C. Pease.

THE THEORY OF THE MARRIAGE TIE.²

THIS paper will try to direct attention to the significance of our theories of the marriage tie or bond. By theory is here meant not speculation, but the real explanation or interpretation of the thought and practice of the people upon this subject. In this sense some theory, either expressed or implied, underlies all thinking and conduct regarding this, as well as other social affairs, and the theory affects conduct and conduct reacts upon theory.

Let us first note the vast importance of the family and its incidents to human life and society. This institution has elements of power and universality beyond almost every other, and its problems are correspondingly great and far-reaching. There can be little doubt that other forms of marriage will yield to monogamy in the advance of civilization. For there are two great forces in modern progress that compel this result. Christianity is on principle and by insistence of precept and practice preëminently monogamous. A life-long union of one man and one woman is

¹ S. Gregorii Magni, *Regulæ Pastoralis Liber, sub fine.*

² Prepared for the Parliament of Religions, in Chicago, September, 1893.

beyond all doubt the social ideal of Christianity, and its religious and moral necessity. This is so much the case that Christianity may be said to stand or fall with the monogamous family.

The other great force of modern society, the institution of property, operates against polygamy in favor of monogamy. For property tends most powerfully to reduce the holding of it and its use to units of the simplest forms, whatever may be the size of the combinations that shall be made out of them. In other words, the influence of property is to individualize ownership, and thus combine the units it has made into social forms that are hostile to all domestic groups which do not rest upon the most secure and strongest foundations in both nature and religion. Polygamy thus stands in the way of the advance of property towards absolute ownership by the individual, and is certain to pass out of any modern social system in which it may chance to get a temporary foothold. The simplest form of domestic life, the family based on monogamous marriage, is also exposed to this pressure of property towards individualism. But, on the other hand, the social, moral, and religious influences of sex and its results create in the home of this family the surest foundation and supply the greatest incentives of property; and this security is made still greater by the system of modern inheritance, whether by intestate succession or by the will, both of which are the outcome of the theory of monogamy.

But in some ways these very forces, while they oppose polygamy, have some tendencies that of themselves, if uncorrected, would push society beyond monogamy towards an extreme individualism which threatens the social order far more seriously than any temporary advantage which polygamy may have got among us. Under the influence of this individualism some are willing to discard marriage altogether. Others have proposed to make it a mere contract to be terminated at the will of the parties immediately concerned, or more frequently by the license of society speaking through its courts of law, and even marriage for a fixed time has been deliberately recommended. The careful observer sees that the competitions of labor coöperating with the competitions of capital tend to push all the members of a household into the modern factory as so many individuals at the expense of the domestic life; that the commercial system, the ambition to maintain social position, and the influences of the hotel and boarding-house reduce the inclination to marry and invite the temptations that lead to divorce and childless marriages. The startling increase

of divorce in the most advanced of civilized peoples, the serious decline in the birth-rate of the classes best able to rear children, and the apparent decrease in marriages, afford clear evidence that our theories and practices are telling upon the family. That a purer, stronger family has to some extent followed in spite of these facts, or it may be partly because of them, — which I do not doubt, — does not by any means remove our fears. For the family, like other institutions, may improve, and yet relatively fall so far behind in the general advance as to be a subject of grave concern. Society may suffer because the rich resources of the family are still partially wasted and its very life too carelessly protected.

Now the significance of a discussion of the theory of the marriage tie depends upon the relation of this bond to the family, for one thing; and then, for another, the study of the family holds the key to the greater part of our social problems. The theory of the marriage bond carries with it much the same kind and variety of subordinate matters as go with our theory of the life of the individual, which underlies and shapes all our treatment of him in other respects. For marriage is the act by which a family comes into existence, and it is commonly said that the marriage bond holds the family together. But whether we assent to the latter statement or not depends on the further answer which we give to the question, What is marriage? and what we think and do in our answer to it affects us in many ways.

The word *marriage* is commonly used for two things. In its first sense it is applied to that act by which the two persons enter into the relation of husband and wife, and thereby constitute a family. In its second use, the term marriage is carried over from this initiatory act to its consequent condition, and is used to designate the subsequent relation, or to mean in old legal phrase the status of matrimony. But now, speaking of the former use of the word, the marriage is, if made without the intervention of state or church, a mere agreement. If it is made before a civil officer, it is in the form of a legal contract. And if it is also made with the aid of the religious ceremony, it is a vow, or, if one so regards it, a sacrament.

But what of the subsequent relation also called marriage, which we are accustomed to speak of as the marriage tie or bond? Is that bond a contract? And if so, shall it be treated in law as a contract? May it be thrown up by the various parties to it? In case of a civil marriage without the religious vow, may the

state as well as the parties themselves treat the whole relation as one of contract, and remedy its evils or break the relation by dissolution of the contract? The answer to this question depends a good deal upon what we mean by a contract, or rather upon the kind of agreement made, which in a marriage generally takes on the form of a legal contract. For we must remember that the latter word is often used, at least in popular language, for agreements that lie outside the domain of civil law.

There are, I think you will say, two kinds of agreements which concern this subject. For example, a man may agree to do a given thing. He may promise to perform an act or a series of acts. All these belong to one kind of contract, if we use this word. Of this sort also is an agreement to exchange goods for money, the pledge to abstinence from intoxicating drinks, and the promise to render a certain service in labor. This kind of agreement carries with it only such part of one's activities or personality as may be necessary to accomplish the thing he has agreed to do. In other respects he is entirely free from obligation. But there is another kind. In agreements of this class, like the oath of allegiance, the covenant with a church, and the marriage contract, the emphasis of thought is not laid upon specific things to be done or precise services to be rendered, but upon the creation of a complete personal relationship. Or the agreement may take the form of the acceptance of obligations already existing, as in the case of a native citizen admitted to the privileges of the freeman, and, in some churches, of a child of the church to those of full membership. Things here follow the persons and not, as in the other class of agreements, the persons the things. And all the questions that arise here concern themselves with the terms of the agreement only long enough to prove the fact of the relationship. When this is decided the attention is directed almost wholly to the relationship itself as the real criterion of duty. The precise language of the marriage ceremony, of the church covenant, or of the oath of allegiance may be utterly forgotten. That served its purpose long ago. As has been finely said, "If marriage is a contract, it is a contract that takes the parties to it out of the sphere of contract." And we have little concern with the marriage tie in questions like those of divorce, if by that we mean the ceremony or act by which the relation of husband and wife was brought about. Our attention is fixed upon the relation. To try to take out of the established relation the exact contribution which the marriage

ceremony put into it by measure of the contract is as useless as the attempt of Shylock to get his stipulated pound of flesh. We cut into a living organism. Like Shylock we try to apply the kind of contract which fits the bargain of things to the exigencies of a living human personality. So the compact by which our States entered into the Federal Union took them into the very life of the Nation. The compact could not be undone by mutual consent. Political revolution is possible, and if successful, it becomes defensible in political ethics. And we may legally dissolve a relation established by marriage, or a family, as I prefer to call the entire condition that exists after the marriage has been celebrated, but it is then an established relation, and not a mere agreement that meets us. But whether we call it in legal phrase a *status*, or a union, or a family, the process is in no true sense less than revolutionary as it affects that family.

Now society must take its stand regarding marriage and divorce upon one or the other of these two leading positions. According to the theory that a pure contract continues to be the essential of the bond throughout the continuation of the relation, the family is little more than a mere assemblage or aggregation of individuals on the basis of sex. Except in this principle of sexual association it does not differ from any other corporation founded on contract, like a bank or a railway, whose members have agreed to do certain things together. This makes the family a mere *modus vivendi*, whose members keep their relation to it wholly in their own hands save as they surrender the exercise of their rights to the state for the convenience of themselves and their neighbors.

The other theory maintains that while marriage brings about the relation by an act that is essentially a contract, it has put the parties into an entirely new relation to each other. It implies that this relation, formed in the complete surrender of each to the other in the profound and vital relations of sex carrying with them the most comprehensive moralities, has brought about a distinctive result which we call the family. And it follows that it is as inadequate to talk of a suit for the remedy of the marriage *contract* in the divorce court as it would be to relieve a ship in distress in mid ocean by repairing the dock from which she started on her voyage. Whether the husband and wife become one by the mergence of the personality of the latter in that of the former, as the old common law held, or the two become coördinate members of an organic unity with equalities and differences, is not

germane to our immediate object. It is enough for this that we understand the two chief theories which are thought to explain the nature of the marriage tie. When carried to its end the question now is, What are the facts in the case? It becomes a subject of scientific inquiry. This has the highest authority. For we are pointed by the Great Teacher of the world on this subject to nature for our answer. An examination of his words, especially in the Gospel of St. Mark, will show how carefully he went to nature for the theory of marriage and divorce. He points to the constitution and natural operation of the sexes. The choices of men and women simply give expression to the forces of nature, and these become the great constitutional features of the relation, and what God had thus joined man is not to put asunder. He said substantially the same thing regarding the obligations of the oath, the Sabbath, and the state. Do not find, he said in substance, the law of your fidelity in the words you may take upon your lips, nor the guide to your observance of the Sabbath in things that may or may not be done, nor the principle of loyalty in the conformity of the ruler to your own ideas of political conduct, nor the rule of your domestic duty in your personal caprice or individual choice, but in all these be faithful to the relations which nature and Providence have made for you. For these, and not the Pharisaic method of dispute about the letter and the thing, are your guide.

The reader perceives that in stating the terms of this radical problem of the family, I have brought out the essentials of the old political problem with which Rousseau convulsed the Western world in the last half of the eighteenth century, and whose principle became the working theory of one party in our Civil War. The historical student will also see that it is essentially the still older problem disclosed in the history of Roman law through its twin movements from status to contract, and from the family to the individual as its unit. He knows that it is almost as old as civilization itself.

It took a tremendous war to effect a political decision of the theory in this country. One party pointed to the original compact that formed the Federal Union, as it was called. The other pointed, with Mr. Webster, to the Union itself, but felt compelled to contend about the original bond and joined in the debate over its terms and their understanding by those who made them. The contest of war followed, and the dispute over the original letter ceased, not because it was settled in the debate, but because the

people had become a nation and were bound to be one in spite of any interpretation that could be put upon its original act of union. The life had established a fact that was too large for the letter of the law. And now we guard the interests of states by freedom within a permanent union. The theory of a contract has become idle talk except as we have recognized its true character as simply the creative act of a vital relation. It has lost all interest as the test of present conditions.

I would point to the importance of seeing that in our treatment of the marriage tie we are still in the conflict of the two social theories that has once shaken the United States with the convulsions of a civil war. If we have fought it out in the state, let us not now fail to see that it now confronts us in the home. If the one explanation of social relations be a political viper, we need now to consider the consequences of hatching serpents' eggs in the bosom of the family. If we found it hard to deal with the doctrine of a business contract when it was the working principle of a section of country, it may be well to think of its danger when it permeates every section, and the foes of social order are found scattered among its friends and linked with them in the interests of business and social life. The anarchist carries the principle to its end. He simply says, I propose to discontinue the agreement by which I became a legal member of society, or perhaps he denies that he ever made any such contract, or ever came under any. What the burglar says in a single particular, the anarchist converts into a principle of universal application. And those who practice divorce and defend it upon the plea made in a large part of the thirty thousand divorces that probably now occur in the United States every year are bringing this bacillus into the very tissue of our national life. The open defiance of monogamy in Utah has been a far less serious menace to our social life than the insidious working of divorce in one of the older States.

We must not overlook the tremendous significance of the solidarity of our social life and of its organic nature, by which it becomes practically impossible to drive out a false theory in one of its departments, like that of citizenship, while it is left to fester in another. The ultimate social element is the whole human individual. He has different social functions, but he takes himself, his entire personality, into them all. All the complexity of motives, methods, habits of thought and action is ever present in him. Only the most highly trained can act with discriminating

intelligence in the various spheres of social life. For in a democracy there is the largest community of social functions exercised by the greatest number, since duties and privileges are the common share of all.

It is just here that a pernicious social theory will readily pass from one person to another, and from one class of interests to all others. The man who has worked himself, his friends, and his legal advisers and judges into a false theory of the tie that led to his domestic life, is the same man who votes, holds office, makes laws, and is a laborer and capitalist. It may be psychologically possible for him to be a different man in the several places in which he performs social duties,—now Dr. Jekyll and now Mr. Hyde,—but the actual instances are infrequent in which the complete separation is maintained. The forces of his nature, the processes of his thought, and the motives of his action are towards unity.

The words of every man, and his theories, are always in some degree “an apology for his life,” as the biography of many an assailant, as well as defender of the great social institutions shows. And so the false theory which is used to justify a great part of our divorces has dangers of infinite consequence beyond the numerous persons whom they directly concern.

The church, above all other institutions, is under obligations to be awake to the importance of giving the keynote on this subject full and clear. The spiritual principle of the Christian religion finds social organization in the institutions of the church, and these thereby become subject to sociological laws and give expression to social theories. Whether we know it or not, some social theory enters into our ecclesiastical forms and their activities. One or the other of the two chief theories of contract underlies the politics of the church, and is the warp of their forms for the reception of persons to membership, and thence breathes a silent influence into all social life. Creeds bear the marks of the great social and legal conception of their times. Baptismal vows and church covenants are cast in one or another form of agreement. The pledges made in the minor organizations of Christian activity and morals are making their interpretation of the rules of social life. The old movement from law to the freedom of personal relationship, from legalism to love, is ever going on; and men are in constant danger of turning back into that bondage of the law which looks to it to prescribe things to be done, to fix rules to be followed, and potters over the letter,

always forgetting that the law is only a pedagogue to lead them to the Great Teacher, where the personal relationship of love is the fulfilling of the great purpose of law. They forget that law misunderstood tends to legalism, and that legalism has in it the prophecy of anarchy.

But let us find encouragement from the strong element which there is in our social life and in the best thinking of our times that helps the better theory. The close kinship of social interests is felt more than ever. This is helpful and constructive. The best ethical and social philosophies have cast off the theory of the social contract, and the historical and comparative method has dealt it severe blows as a sound theory of society. Jurisprudence is making a significant change in its own definition of positive law. Law is now frequently defined in the leading schools as the science not of rights but of relations, thus passing from the individualistic to the social conception of law. Education has renewed its vigor since it has learned to study the pupil in his environment, while religion itself is getting a new conception of the kingdom of God and its expression in human society. And behind the other sciences are the two new sciences of biology and sociology, pointing towards the conclusion that all the world is akin in most vital ways, and that this marvelous power of choice and agreement plays into an order of things and persons which so takes them into itself, that the order and not they themselves becomes the norm of our conduct.

All this finds its way to the domestic life and its institutions, and our hope lies in the progress of the better thought and the nobler living. We hinder the movement, we imperil the state, the church, and the objects of education and industry whenever we encourage the root of all social disorder in the home by forming the family in marriage or breaking it up in divorce on a theory that is inadequate to the explanation of the facts.

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MISSIONS AND COLONIES.

II.

WE remarked in our last paper on the curious effect which the sudden outburst in Germany of enthusiasm for colonial possessions has had on the public estimation of missions. Previously to this they stood very low in general regard, that is, in *Protestant* Germany. It might be said, in explanation, that Christian faith and feeling have penetrated society in Protestant Germany much less completely than in either England or America, and that while Christianity is maintained and supported as the religion of the land, there has been a contempt felt for any movements which took it so much in earnest as to think it was something which it was worth while to extend. So sweeping a judgment, however, would be of doubtful warrant. When foreign missions were first suggested in the Protestant world, the severe and contemptuous judgments passed upon them did not proceed only from worldly men. Ursinus in Germany, good Dr. Ryland in England, and the Presbyterian divine in Scotland who thought that young Alexander Duff was quite out of his head, were all zealous and faithful ministers, fair representatives of the sincere and godly members of the churches generally. These had their established round of responsibilities, to which their action and feelings were accommodated, and when the ends of the earth were suddenly presented to them as having also a pressing and immediate claim upon their interest, efforts, and means, they at first recoiled with a very natural impatience and resentment. If in our day some one should urge us to help him go to Lassa, on a mission to convert the Grand Lama, we should be apt to put the proposal aside as the mere extravagance of zeal. And if it turned out that after all the hour had come, and that the conversion of the Grand Lama carried with it that of all Central Asia, we should be mortified indeed that we had not been sharers in the prophetic vision of our friend, but we should have no occasion to think ourselves sinners above all men dwelling in Jerusalem because we had not drawn a conclusion where there were no apparent premises.

The sense of obligation to send missionaries to the heathen has naturally dawned in each Christian nation very much in proportion as it has come into relations with the heathen. Spain and Portugal first had heathen subjects in large numbers, and the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans and Augustinians were first

inflamed with missionary zeal, as well as with philanthropic energy for the rights of the Indians, against the atrocities of Spanish rapacity, while the Spaniard Loyola founded his order with much more immediate reference to the pagans abroad than to the heretics at home. The great eminence of French Catholics in missions did not begin until France held Canada, and it is now developing in proportion as the French colonial dominion grows, in the Pacific, in Farther India, and in Africa. The Italians are first beginning to show distinct missionary zeal since Italy has established herself on the Red Sea and is meditating the occupation of Tripoli. This close national reference has not been disregarded even by the Jesuits, who have naturally been inclined to choose as missionaries those brethren that would be most acceptable to the colonial governments, that is, natives of the mother country.

The same principle, of course, has prevailed among Protestants. Denmark, which had colonies two hundred years ago, was even then interested in missions, although, from the smallness of her population, she had to procure missionaries largely from the kindred Germans. In England, Walter Raleigh accompanied the establishment of his abortive colony at Roanoke with a gift for missions, the first gift, it is believed, of a Protestant to this end. Missionary interest in England never died out entirely from that point of time. Indeed, it never ceased to be at least a noticeable factor in the religious life of the nation. Yet it was far from gaining in volume and intensity in proportion to the extension of the English dominion in America. The relations between the colonists and the aborigines were too hostile to render the work a very encouraging one, and the spiritual needs of the colonies themselves, outside of New England, were so great as to divert to themselves much the greater part of the interest and means devoted to the extension of Christianity in America. To this day the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dating as it does from 1701, and in a vaguer form from still farther back, retains this early imprint. It is both a colonial and a missionary society, and it is sometimes a little hard to disentangle the two threads of its activity, whereas the much younger Church Missionary Society is exclusively a missionary body. It is not surprising, therefore, so long as the work among the Indians, such as it was, was largely included, at least in theory, in the general colonial policy of the government, and so long as the Propagation Society was a kind of colonial ministry of worship, that the non-

conformists, whose religious life in the last century was secluded from the general life of the nation as never before or since, should have almost entirely lost sight, for the time, of missionary obligations. Dr. Ryland's speech to William Carey, "Sit down, young man," etc., would not have been possible otherwise. As it was, the suddenness with which they woke out of this trance of indifference and disparagement, and the energy with which they addressed themselves, even in advance of the Establishment, to meet the wider responsibilities of evangelization developing in the East, may show us that we are not to judge too severely the first crude censures passed upon the missionary work by good men.

Protestant Germany must have the benefit of this mitigation of judgment. Until yesterday she had no colonies, and general society thought and cared little about missions. It is true, we in America have not had external colonies, and yet are the second missionary country of Protestantism. But as we and England, except administratively, are identical, of course her impulse could not fail to propagate itself here, which is not true of Germany. Besides, our commerce has touched all lands, if our colonies have not. It is true, Halle furnished various illustrious missionaries as far back as 1705, while the burning centre of the purest missionary zeal has been established in Saxony since 1732. In our own age, moreover, the principal German missionary societies of Barmen, Leipsic, Berlin, and Hermannsburg were all in actual operation long before the colonial acquisitions resulting from the national reconstitution of 1870. All, however, finding no German territory to work in, turned mainly to Dutch or British territory, and accordingly were little regarded in Germany. Besides, while in Great Britain corporate and individualistic religion, or ecclesiasticism and pietism, have, in some form or other, been largely allies rather than antagonists, and while in our country pietism has been the very foundation of our ecclesiasticism, holding this distinctly in subordination to itself, in Germany, on the other hand, the church, so long as her corporate life was vigorous, had, as Rothe remarks, an energetic instinct of repulsion towards pietism. Lutheranism, for some two centuries, and even German Calvinism, were in their public aspect hardly less imposing than Catholicism, while the latent consciousness that this dominant ecclesiasticism is not the final outcome of the Reformation, made them, made Lutheranism especially, far more jealous of individualistic piety than Catholicism has any need to be. Even yet there is enough of this elder form of the church in Germany to interpose a barrier of

singular unintelligence between general society and distinctively evangelistic circles and interests. A striking instance of this occurred lately. A Moravian functionary called at the office of the East African Company in Berlin to solicit some facilities for the new mission on the Lakes. His request was cordially granted, and he was invited in to see the Directors. After a little pleasant chat, one of the gentlemen asked him whether the Moravian Church had ever carried on a mission before! German gentlemen, of high intelligence, asking such a question concerning a German church, whose name, to every well-informed Englishman or American, is expected to sound a very synonym of missions! A nation plunged in such depths of ignorance concerning the missions of its own children might well be expected to treat the general subject with disdain, — surly disdainfulness, indeed, appearing to sit remarkably well on a North German, above all on a Brandenburg.

The sudden reversal of attitude since 1870 shows how quickly the possession of colonies changes the public estimation of missions. In Germany, indeed, the change has been so abrupt as to be absolutely comical, and has afforded the real friends of missions — what they call there *die liebe Missionsgemeinde* — not only encouragement, but a good deal of quiet fun, not unmixed with indignation at its too transparent interestedness. Perhaps the most sincere in their commendations have been the Social Democrats, who in the Reichsrath have cordially acknowledged “the ideal worth” of missionary labors among uncultivated races, and who may be expected to stand side by side with the missionaries in opposing the hard selfishness of colonial schemings at the expense of the natives. The Ultramontanes, of course, highly esteem missions, and only deery Protestant missions, against which some of their principal organs in Germany pour out an unceasing stream of misrepresentations and calumnies. Yet even their leaders have spoken far more cordially in the parliament. Indeed, it appears that very nearly or quite all the multitudinous fractions and factions of the Reichsrath have used the same language. The press has largely reëchoed the parliament. The Jews, it is true, whose hand is known to be so heavy upon the German press, as rumor goes that it is beginning to be upon the press of America, have been wont to give it a tone of contemptuous malignity towards missions, as towards every form of Christian activity which went beyond a mere maintenance of the hereditary framework of the church. However, anti-Semitism, odious as it is in its popular crudeness and cruelty, seems to have at least served to discredit

the assumption that Christians have no rights which Jews are bound to respect. Such a retribution of mediæval iniquities is a little more than Christendom seems inclined to bear, however well we may deserve it.

Yet, as I have said before, this sudden change of front in Germany in favor of missions takes very little account of their spiritual or even of their philanthropic worth. Their religion is prized chiefly as a diluent or vehicle which makes them the better means of propagating Germanism, and of training Africans and Papuans into good implements of Teutonic covetousness. German colonial functionaries and merchants would like the missionaries to work on the simple plan of the good old slaveholding days of our own South, when Dr. David Nelson says he never heard a white man preach to the negroes except from the text: "Servants, obey your masters," or, "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." The distinct demand is, and is expressed with the brutal frankness of the national character, that the interests of the natives are to be held altogether subservient to those of the Europeans.

How do the missionaries and missionary societies answer to this call? German Protestantism being so abjectly subject to the civil power, we might suppose that they would be obsequious to the requirement. In fact they are nothing of the kind. German ecclesiastical Protestantism is the slave of the State, but German pietistic Protestantism is as free of the State as a disembodied spirit. This is illustrated in extraordinary measure in the history of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Moravianism may be defined, with sufficient accuracy for general purposes, as the finest product of Halle pietism, most effectively organized within itself, and through the episcopal succession of the ancient Brethren's Church alloyed with just enough of historical character and claims to give it a good working edge. Thus specificated, it has extended its activity throughout Germany and far beyond, gliding in and out of the various territorial churches with equal quietness and ingenuousness, neither contesting the hierarchical assumptions of the German princes nor implicating itself with them, neither disturbing the state nor disturbed by the state, and everywhere leavening the inner circles of Christian society with the innermost spirit of pure Christian endeavor. The same thing is true, in a less definite organization, of German pietism generally, on which German missions principally lean for support. With one voice it disdainfully rejects all proposals to harness itself to the car of national

ambition or mercantile speculation. In the full acquaintance of a number of years with the principal missionary magazines of Germany, the organs of the Leipsic Society, the Rhenish Society, the principal Berlin Society, the Herrnhut "*Missions-Blatt*," and the excellent Calwer publications, and, as concentrating all, the "*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*," I cannot recall a single uncertain note, in the maintenance of the great principle that the work of Christian missions is essentially and indefeasibly independent of all national limitations and national aims. Of course they do not contend that there should be any artificial and anxious effort to oppose the natural operation of sympathy between the Christians of a particular country and their colonies, which, as we have seen, works so happily in awakening missionary interest. It may be taken for granted that Germans chiefly shall work in German territory, Frenchmen in French, and Englishmen and Americans in British. The obvious advisableness of keeping up, if possible, a good understanding with the colonial authorities would work to this end. But against the extreme jealousy which the German government at present shows of foreign missionaries, Protestant or Catholic, within its colonies, the German friends of missions raise the most energetic protest. They emphasize the right of every man to bear the message of life to any land to which his mind may be directed, and to continue there unmolested so long as he works in good faith for spiritual ends only. Now, at present the German government is acting in the harshest antagonism to this fundamental principle of Christian missions. It is no great matter of surprise that it will not tolerate French Catholic missionaries in German East Africa, putting up with them only until German priests and nuns can be trained to take up the work, although it is whimsical to suppose that the most fantastic French missionary could have a thought of alienating East Africa to France. In the Marshall Islands, however, Germany is reported as behaving as harshly to our missionaries as ever France behaved towards the English missionaries in Tahiti or the Loyalty Isles, although we are friends to Germany if anybody is, and fellow-Protestants besides.

In fact, this great power is behaving just now like a baby, in the first eagerness of its colonial ambitions, and is ready to raise a scream when it catches sight of anybody that it thinks capable of disputing with it the least crumb of its cake. After it has fairly accommodated itself to the sensation of being in the possession of colonies, it will gradually learn to behave with more com-

mon sense. Indeed, there is already a notable change for the better in the conduct of the Germans in East Africa towards those English missionaries — mostly of the Universities' Mission — who have been left over in the final readjustments of territory. Bishop Smythies and his brethren were at first exceedingly annoyed by the churlishness of the German officials, and expressed themselves with a good deal of pungency. Gradually, however, the atmosphere has cleared, and now the Bishop and archdeacons and the other missionaries warmly testify that the Germans are behaving to them with great cordiality, and affording them every facility, and that the government relations with the natives, though doubtless still crude and harsh compared with the maturer mildness of English and French administration, are working decidedly for good. Of course, it is quite out of the question that there should be a permanent unwillingness in any one of the three great Teutonic and Protestant powers, England, Germany, and America, to let the citizens of the other two work as far as they find themselves called for the good of its heathen or Mohammedan subjects.

The other side of the unreasonable requirement that only Germans shall work in German territories, is the demand that Germans shall work in German territories only. This is doubly inadmissible, for Germans had long ago established fruitful missions in Dutch India, British India, China, the West Indies, Greenland, Labrador, and British Africa. Of course they cannot give up these to concentrate themselves merely within East Africa, a part of New Guinea, Hereroland, bits of African Guinea, and a few of the Pacific isles, in all of which, moreover, except the last, they already have missionaries. And yet even this unreasonable demand has been suggested at home, and they have been accused of lukewarm patriotism for not making preparations to comply with it. But they stand firm on the essential right, as apostles of Christ, to follow out the injunction: "Go, bring *all nations* to discipleship."

It is a profoundly interesting question, and one reaching far beyond these present German disputes, how far the obligations of national patriotism and those of Christian patriotism, of citizenship in the kingdom of God, belong together. In one form or other, the demand is continually reappearing, that the Christians of each country shall bound their evangelizing plans by their own nationality. That if everybody acted on this principle there could be no evangelizing effort whatever in independent unevan-

gelized countries, does not seem to be taken into the account at all by those who talk in this way. In fact, each complainer concentrates his thoughts on his own country and its dependencies, and lets the rest of the world go. I have actually seen it proposed, in sober earnest, and with a querulous sharpness of tone towards all that thought otherwise, in a home missionary magazine, that we should suspend all our foreign missions, or reduce them to their lowest terms, until we had completely evangelized our own country. Such talk reminds one of those good people who, when advised to read some peculiarly important book, reply: "I will first wait till I have read through those that I have already." Every man's business is to read such books as special congruity with his mental temper or particular occasions directs him to, and to engage in that form of work to which the type of his character, conjoined with providential openings, guides him. It is not our business, in the pride of our hearts, to form great swelling plans of what we will do, as individuals, churches, societies, or aggregates of such, for converting everybody in our own country. We might just as well declare that, having done this, we will all stay at home until we have brought every man, woman, and child in the United States to the stage of sinless perfection, or at least as near it as orthodoxy allows. We must look somewhere else than to the New Testament for authorization to form such schemes. This knows of such things as barren fig-trees, fruitful and unfruitful ground, the many called and the few chosen, the elect remnant. It does not propose to us that we shall, by dogged perseverance in schemes of our own devising, within an area determined by natural, not supernatural affinities, overcome the depths of personal decision and the unsounded abysses of the divine purpose. It knows but one field, the world, and but one evangelical temper, that which says, "Here am I, Lord, send me," whether to some part of the one great field in which unity of race, speech, habits of mind, temporal interests, easiness of access, make everything ready to our hand, or to some part requiring such a reversal of all native habits and associations as can only result from the depth of sympathy fed by the constant sense of the one God, the one Redeemer, and the one Eternity.

It is strange in how many ways, and how subtle, the order of time endeavors to make the order of the Everlasting Kingdom subordinate to itself. We shall never rise above the divine simplicity of our Lord's discrimination: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that

are God's." Our supreme temporal allegiance doubtless is due to our country, whichever it may be, as being at present the highest organism working for temporal ends. It is doubtless bound to work in congruity with eternal ends, but it does not and should not work immediately for them. It has therefore, neither directly nor indirectly, any claim on our spiritual allegiance, no prerogative whatever to confine our working for eternal ends within its own limited range. The relations of family, vicinity, country, congeniality of race and speech, form, it is true, the natural and obvious, but not the objectively obligatory, moulds of our highest aims. There is no danger but that, on the whole, they will have all, and more than all, the prevalence in determining our activity which they ought to have. Now and then, doubtless, there will be one whom excessive romance of temper, or adventurousness, or even an exaggerated instinct of self-sacrifice, will send to meet an early death in Africa or Inner Asia, in neglect of the rights or necessities of those at home. But for one such case there are likely to be hundreds where the pleasant ties of home transform themselves into a specious aspect of obligation disguising a temper which is in reality only a seemly form of self-indulgence. Doubtless the vast majority of Christians are providentially called to stay in their own country, but the obligation to this is not moral, but natural, being simply the inertia of habit, serving, of course, ends of divine wisdom. Even so, in the days of persecution, the vast majority of Christians were called only to be martyrs in will, not in deed. Yet had there not been many martyrs in deed, it might well have been argued that there were no martyrs in will. So most Christians are called to forsake all that they have less in outward act than in inward detachment from each lower and personal aim when called to the higher and wider. There is no certain and ultimate safeguard, however, against the narrowing force of self-seeking, shrinking within closer and still closer circles, until at last it condenses, in the frozen centre of the evil world, into the hard lump of absolute selfishness, except the counteracting power of divine self-forgetfulness, descending from the Son of God into each Christian heart, and from this centre expanding until it first fills and then transcends the concentric circles of the family, the kindred, the neighborhood, the nation, and at last discharges itself into the broad ocean of universal humanity, considered in its temporal and its eternal necessities. Mr. Bayne well says that the only counteractive of sufficient force to restrain the irresistible power of selfishness is for each

man to have a distinct and acknowledged form of obligation to mankind as such. And this sense of obligation to mankind as such has never been permanently maintained except in the apprehension that the conditions of time include issues of eternity.

Some American writer — I do not remember who — has drawn a melancholy augury as to our national future, from the fact that our situation and vastness of power exempt us from all hazard of attack involving the remotest danger of conquest, and thus predispose us to live, like the people of Laish, quiet and secure, in selfish indifference to the vicissitudes of mankind at large. The Turk may, if he will, grind to powder the Armenian people, the oldest Christian nationality of the world; or the great Slavonic Cyclops may make ready to swallow down the Scandinavian realms of our own blood and religion; or the great results of 1870 in Middle Europe may fall in peril of being crushed between their Eastern and their Western foes, and yet we, whatever the issue, however centrally it may concern our own race, or our own faith, or the whole future of the world, are expected, on all sides, as a matter of course, to sit by in easy unconcern, regarding the event as touching us no more than an ancient spectator of a gladiatorial game would have regarded it as affecting him whether it was this one of the combatants who fell, or that. The writer mentioned sees in all this, and not without warrant, an omen of ultimate national degeneracy and decay. It is true, Providence is heaping vast masses of various races upon us, so that, though we may seclude ourselves from mankind, mankind will not consent to seclude itself from us. Yet, which is more strange than encouraging, even the urgent voices that are raised entreating us to strain every nerve for the Christianization of these masses, or for their transformation into higher forms of Christian faith, and such as are more congruous with our own, found their urgency largely, I may say mainly, upon the danger to ourselves if we neglect this. Thus the highest activities of the kingdom of God are bound and cooped within the limits of our own national advantage. This is just as really a subordination of Christ to Cæsar as anything that we see under Peter the Great or Louis the Fourteenth. We all remember the homely story which represents a man as praying: "O Lord, bless me and my wife, and my son John and his wife, and my half of the slave boy Tom." That is the image of the present form of our national devotions, or, at all events, that is what it might sink into, could the American Church remain so absorbed in her merely national character

as to forget that there are no true children of Abraham who do not work towards the time when in him and in his seed all the families of the earth shall be blessed. Happily, the sense of obligation among our Christian youth to go abroad into all the world appears to be deepening and spreading more than ever at the very time that the sense of obligations to be fulfilled at home is becoming so heavy, which seems to show that the appeals made for the latter may, after all, not be so selfishly particularistic in fact as in form. Indeed, nothing can be more encouraging than such a centre of evangelism as Northfield, where it is impossible to say whether it is the claims of America, or of Europe, or of the world at large, that are most in the foreground, or rather where their essential oneness is so apprehended, as that it is not left to human plannings, but to divine impulse, which shall, from time to time, be principally urged. Such journeys, moreover, as those of Dr. Pentecost in India, in which home and foreign missions and ordinary pastoral work all find their account, seem to show that the differentiation of Christian work has now reached its limits, and that the epoch of harmonious reunion, in continuing distinctness, has begun. Nothing, indeed, could be at once more completely national, more completely international, and more completely ecumenical than the fast-extending league of the Christian Endeavor societies.

There are two ways in which colonies may work upon missions, and upon the missionary temper in the mother country. They may so absorb the outward-going instincts of Christian love as to cause them to reverberate in the form of a mere exaggeration of national selfishness. The attempt now making in Germany to deal thus with them is perhaps the boldest effort of the kind, although Holland has shown very much the same spirit, as I may have occasion to point out in a later paper. Had not German Christians already founded so many flourishing missions outside the present limits of the German Empire, these efforts to turn missions into a mere tributary of national particularism might have been largely successful. As it is, only a single society has fallen in with them (Berlin III.), and that had to be formed for the purpose, and had made so little advance as to be hardly worthy of mention, serving to show that no head of spiritual force is strong enough to reverse the antagonistic currents of heathenism, except such as has gathered momentum in descending from the very throne of God and of the Lamb.

Or colonies, on the contrary, may act as a link between imme-

diate national and universal humanitarian interests. They are most likely to have this healthy and normal working in proportion to the greatness of the nationality from which they proceed and to the greatness and variety of the empire into which they expand. The most illustrious exemplification in the world's history of this effect is unquestionably the British empire. Undoubtedly the immediate impulse to England's colonial expansions or acquisitions has been the same as with all other nations, interest and ambition. Even those New England commonwealths which were most deeply religious had a strong and healthy admixture of temporal motive in their foundation, while for all the others the hope of legitimate worldly advantage was confessedly predominant. The mother country, moreover, never pretended that she managed them except with the prevailing view of profiting by them. Her vast Indian empire, furthermore, has grown out of a simple trading association, and in dealing with it she has been little disposed to lose her commercial advantages out of sight. Other territories, like South Africa, falling to her by the chances of war, seem to have been retained mainly from ambition and a sense of national dignity, and it is hard to know from what other motives she retains her supremacy over Canada, the only thing which involves a possibility of collision with her mighty daughter. It would be easy to produce from the vast volume of English colonial administration instance after instance of unscrupulous selfishness or cruelty hardly less aggravated than the tyrannies of a Roman proconsul. Malice and superficial hastiness of judgment find no trouble in making out their case against this fruitful mother of nations. Yet it is none the less true that, over and above all motives of selfish advantage, she has been pushed to her boundless expansion by the irresistibly self-evolving forces of her race. Our own continent has been peopled by pure overflow, first of England, then of Scotland and Ireland, and then of Europe at large. The first great shock given to the selfishness of the English colonial policy was administered by our successful revolt. It has had the deepest effect, and beneficent consequences have declared themselves more fully with every decade since. The elements of greed, harshness, and superfluous domination, have steadily receded before a nobler spirit, aiming to lead and to develop, and to substitute more and more the presidency of influence for that of mere authority. Australia and New Zealand, peopled by pure overflow, and that of the almost unmixed British races, afford an unalloyed instance of filial affection that has ceased to be dependence, rela-

tions unmixed with remembrances of selfish advantage extorted or attempted, and propagating under the Southern Cross only the higher affinities of a glorious race. Secular interests in Australia are at present tremendously strong, and spiritual energies comparatively dormant, yet the effluent and reflux forces which pass between the island continent and the mother country are of such a kind as may well serve in the end for the higher purposes of the kingdom of God. Even the lesser colonies, like Jamaica, have ceased to be in very noticeable measure a source of profit, although they may remain as a basis of naval power, while India, although she may still open a market to the trade which Australia and Canada have secured the right to hamper at pleasure, and may assure a career to many cadets of conspicuous families, is becoming more and more a heavy burden of obligation, almost enough, of itself, to justify Matthew Arnold's image of Britain as staggering "under the too vast orb of her fate."

India, indeed, above all other countries, compels the thoughts of her governors into ecumenical channels by her vastness, her remoteness, her famous antiquity, the grand endowments of her leading people, and, above all, by the infinite variety of her inhabiting races. Had England no other possession than India, she would find it hard to shut herself up in selfish or in surly insularity. It is one of the most gracious and prophetic facts of our early history, that Alfred, one thousand years ago, sent gifts to the churches of southwestern India. English piety and English benevolence took seisin of the great peninsula many ages in advance of English violence and covetousness, and will remain in possession long after they have driven those evil influences out. The broad foundation is laid in that wonderful *pax Britannica*, which English speakers with just pride are wont to compare with the *pax Romana* of old, and which, with the great highways stretching out to serve it from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, and from Calcutta to Bombay, and now prolonging themselves eastward to the Irrawaddy, again bring to our ears the voice of the herald proclaiming "Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight his paths." The moral dignity in English statesmanship, which, in foreign relations at least, commonly rises above a partisanship that at home is deeper and more acrimonious than our own, has certainly been greatly fed and strengthened by the responsibilities, solitudes, and vicissitudes of Indian government, responsibilities which, as related to the standing of England herself among the nations, to the physical, intellectual, and spiritual necessities of hard upon three

hundred millions of people, and to the undetermined but ramifying relations of all Asia, deserve no epithet of less import than solemn. If the foreign, above all the colonial policy of England, sifted and filtered through so many various forms and vehicles, is not largely purified of its selfish elements and sublimed into Christian grandeur and disinterestedness of purpose, it will be proved irreformable, which certainly is the last verdict that we now seem warranted to pronounce upon it.

We hear a great deal, it is true, of English hypocrisy, advancing projects of evangelical enterprise to cover designs of cupidity and ambition. Now, no doubt, Mr. Byends, who is not a rare character anywhere, has had an abundant progeny in a commercial nation of so pushing and energetic a character as England. Hypocrisy, however, "the homage which vice pays to virtue," is not apt to be very rife except where the motives which it flatters are strong. The naked cynicism with which German mercantile adventurers are now setting forth their purpose of exploiting both natives and missionaries as instruments of gain, certainly does not imply less selfishness than is found in England, but a less developed sense of decency. The fact that hypocrisy is not supposed to be needed as a mantle, implies not a greater but an inferior prevalence of the higher motives in general society. A country in which even selfishness has to veil itself under the aspect of solicitude for the universal good of mankind, is likely to be a country in which solicitude for the universal good of mankind is an energetic reality. Any one who can doubt that of England is capable of doubting anything.

In my next paper I propose to consider somewhat particularly how far temporal advantages to a country have been a motive for sending out missions, and how far they have been a result, and what is the healthy relation between them.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

"BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY."

- As the dying splendor of the sun often kindles in the east a flush as of the dawn, so, critics tell us, was the legendary radiance of miracle reflected upon the birth of Christ by the acknowledged and unparalleled glory of his apotheosis. In the present controversy in Germany over the Apostles' Creed, the miraculous conception and virgin-birth of Jesus are the centre of the conflict. Moreover, it is so freely asserted by the opponents of the creed that this clause of it — "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary" — must be abandoned as an article of faith, that it becomes specially appropriate to ask on what evidence we still retain and believe it.

For it must be frankly conceded that this is an open question, and a matter for argument. Its solution depends upon evidence, though some of that evidence is of a kind whose value may seem very different, according to the side from which we approach it. It must also be further conceded that belief in this clause of the creed is not absolutely necessary and fundamental to salvation. Good Christian men may take opposite sides on this question, without giving up that which is vital and cardinal to the faith. For myself, I must confess that it would probably make difficulties in several directions, difficulties which might imperil or seriously modify my Christian faith, did I not hold, on grounds I shall try to describe, this part of the creed as an article of faith. Yet with others, I am confident, the case is different. And so I am constrained to agree with Professor Harnack,¹ that the utterance of the authorities of the Evangelical Lutheran Church is neither true nor wise, when they say: "That the Son of God is 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' is the foundation of Christianity, is the corner-stone, on which all wisdom of this world will shatter." I think he is right in adding: "It is a dangerous but erroneous dilemma, that the idea of the God-man stands or falls with the virgin-birth." Yet I do not think it "dangerous" or "erroneous" on account of the state of the evidence, but only in view of the possibilities of individual belief, of which I have already spoken. And I cannot agree at all with Professor Harnack when he says, in reply to the church authorities just quoted: "If that were the case, ill would Mark fare, ill Paul, ill John, ill Christianity." This is doubly rash in its impli-

¹ Harnack, A., *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis*, ed. 25 (1893), p. 39.

cation that Mark, Paul, and John stand with our modern critics for the rejection of this article of the creed. For, first, it assumes that silence necessarily means ignorance, and, second, it practically puts ignorance on the same footing as rejection.

But I repeat that the question is one of evidence, and I deprecate the implication, so common in this controversy, that he who differs with me cannot really be a Christian at all.

It appears to me of great value to set forth the evidence in this case, because the real and vital importance of the belief in Christ's miraculous conception and virgin-birth, not only for itself, but also in its connections, can in no other way be so fully brought into view.

I assume, of course, in this discussion, not only the possibility of miracles, but also the full deity of Christ, his eternal distinct preëxistence as the Logos, and the reality of his Incarnation. The issue is with those who unite with us on these points, but differ as to the manner, not as to the fact, of the Incarnation. It is true, however, that many, perhaps most, of those who reject the virgin-birth reject also the personal preëxistence.¹ This prejudices the whole case for my present subject, and perhaps accounts for the rejection of the virgin-birth on rather slight evidence, when the weightiest reason, disbelief in the preëxistence, is left in the background. For myself, I can see so little reason for holding the virgin-birth on Biblical evidence, when the preëxistence is rejected in spite of stronger Biblical evidence, that I can only wonder that Professor Beyschlag so long withstood the logical anomaly of his position, recently abandoned,² in holding to the virgin-birth long after he had rejected the preëxistence.

Yet Keim and Beyschlag, for instance, expressly concede³ that the coming of Jesus Christ as a man among men is the result of a miracle, only not of that particular miracle of which Matthew and Luke tell us. They believe that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, but that in him God's Spirit was present as in no other man before or since, so that the New Testament description of his life, work, and influence is substantially true.

The great objection advanced against belief in the virgin-birth, — I use this as a brief term for all that the creed asserts, — is the meagreness of the direct evidence, contained only in the first

¹ So Keim, Wendt, and many others.

² Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu* (1885), i. p. 160 ff.

³ Keim, *Hist. of Jesus of Nazara*, ii. p. 63 f.; Beyschlag, *l. c.*, i. p. 167. Similarly Lobstein, *Le dogme de la naissance miraculeuse etc.* (1890), p. 45.

two chapters of Matthew and in the first three of Luke. The narratives of Matthew and Luke are either historical or legendary, or they may conceivably contain a historical kernel in a legendary husk. If the last is true, it is for our purpose practically the same as the first, since the miraculous conception and the consequent virgin-birth stand out as that which is essential and fundamental in both stories, different, possibly discordant, in their details. Thus the theory to be investigated is that these narratives are fundamentally legendary in their main purport and object.

1. The first impression they make on the reader is certainly not that of a legend. There is a sobriety, a conciseness, an absence, not only of rhetoric and embroidery, but also of all unnecessary detail; there is above all a reverent reticence about these narratives, which is in striking contrast to most legends, particularly on such subjects as our critics suppose to be germane to this. Even the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy, which are based upon Matthew and Luke, and therefore might have felt the restraining influence of their authority, have added to, and really deviated from, the sacred narratives, by fantastic imaginings, indelicate speculations, and ascetic exaggerations, in which the legendary additions could be distinguished from the fundamental facts, even though our Gospels were not at hand to mark the difference.¹

2. Here, whether we have legend or not, we have in Matthew and Luke, not two variants of the same story, but two very strikingly independent, apparently contradictory, narratives, which yet accord absolutely as to the main facts of the miraculous conception and virgin-birth, and that in statements which lie so near to error on either hand, that we find them distorted or misinterpreted, not only by old Apocrypha, but also by modern critics. I do not turn aside to examine these seeming discrepancies between Matthew and Luke, because that has been adequately done already.² Of the narratives it may be said, as of the variant accounts of events after the resurrection of Christ in the gospels, that their differences are probably explicable by mediating hypotheses, or are insignificant, and that the main facts stand out in a way to emphasize the independence, and therefore the cumulative value, of the separate witnesses. The same is probably true of the genealogies in the first and third Gospels, whether we assume that Luke's contains the ancestry of Joseph (Matthew's

¹ Cf. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf (1853); Keim, *l. c.*, ii. pp. 70-90.

² *E. g.*, by Godet, *Commentaire sur . . . Luc*, ed. 2 (1872), i. pp. 188-203.

being perhaps maternal¹), or of Mary.² It is manifestly unhistorical for the critics to regard every mention of Christ's descent from David as inconsistent with his supernatural birth, when Matthew plainly regards his legal descent from Joseph as sufficient for the Messianic requirement, and Luke also reconciles his Davidic descent with the miracle of his birth, either on the same ground as Matthew, or by giving the Davidic lineage of Mary.³

3. In a legendary story no *personal* point of view would probably be prominent, still less the points of view of two different people, and those precisely the only ones who had *original* knowledge of the facts, whatever they were, which underlie the story. But here we have Matthew's narrative, told clearly from Joseph's side, and Luke's from Mary's. Whatever the true state of the case, these two are the only and ultimate authorities and sources of information. Legends do not thus, by their very form, "orient" and authenticate themselves. We may safely challenge the critics to produce legends of this type.

4. Those details of the narrative which are immediately accessory to the principal fact, are in Matthew complicated in a manner not only unnecessary, from the legendary point of view, but, I venture to say, entirely unnatural in a legend. Matthew "describes the imminent danger, that he who should save his people from their sins, would be born as the illegitimate child of a woman, put away by her righteous betrothed because of unfaithfulness."⁴ This danger is averted by God's revelation to Joseph, which removes the cruel suspicion naturally resting on Mary. Luke's data⁵ also practically require the same sequence of events. He adds that the journey to Bethlehem only shortly preceded the birth of Jesus. This change of place would avert calumny, such as might naturally have arisen in Nazareth, from the fact that the birth of Jesus was only six months or less subsequent to the marriage of Joseph and Mary.⁶ But there is not the slightest evidence that during the lifetime of Jesus there arose among the Jews any suspicion of irregularities connected with his birth, such

¹ Hahn, *Evangelium des Lucas* (1892), i. p. 281.

² Godet, *Commentaire sur . . . Luc*, ed. 2 (1872), i. p. 250 f.; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, i. p. 217 f.; Weiss (Meyer), *Hdb. über . . . Markus u. Lukas* (1885), p. 338 f.

³ Cf. Zahn, A., *Das apostolische Symbolum* (1893), p. 65.

⁴ Zahn, *l. c.*, p. 59. I do not think Zahn makes out his case, that Matthew's narrative is a polemic against Jewish calumnies, though, as will be noted, I see no chronological obstacles to such a theory.

⁵ Luke i. 49, 56; ii. 5, 6.

⁶ Matt. i. 18, 24; Luke i. 49, 56; ii. 5, 6.

as the Pharisees would have been quick to seize upon, or the people of Nazareth to promulgate, had the above evidence been known to them. The later calumnies of the Jews, as we shall see, take a form which enables us to trace them with great probability, not to any suspicions or accusations rife during the time of Christ, but to the subsequent claims of the Christian church. Now these complications in the narratives of Matthew and Luke are explicable enough, if the introductory sentence in Matthew is true: "Now the birth of Jesus Christ *was* on this wise." But such circumstances are extremely unnatural and out of place in a legend. A legend, to become current at all, needs to follow the path of least resistance. Such circumstances would have a tendency to foster in many minds, not belief in the divine sonship of Jesus, but suspicions of adultery and illegitimacy, as is shown by the Jewish calumnies. I am not aware that the well-known Greek legends of divine fathers for great men are ever complicated in this way. Take, for instance, the story that Plato was the son of Apollo. This is fashioned so as to avoid all difficulties.¹ In this connection the words of Didon² are probably true in a wider sense than his context requires: "The narrative of the virginal origin of Jesus cannot be explained except by the reality itself; it is not thus that imagination dreams and invents."

5. The Jewish calumnies, already mentioned, are collateral evidence in the same direction. Our critics champion the opinion, historically the first which was held by Christ's contemporaries, and even by his disciples, that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary. There is no trace of this view in the period subsequent to the founding of the church, till we find it again, with Cerinthus, at the end of the first century, and with the Ebionites in the second.³ I am not aware that it was accepted either in the Christian church on the one hand, or among hostile Jews on the other, but only by these Jewish-Christian heretics, who naturally assumed a mediating position between the faith of the church, that Jesus was "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," and the scoff of the Jews, that He was conceived in

¹ Diogenes Laertius, *De vit. philos.*, iii. 1. Cf. Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles* (1892), p. 279 f. This practically answers Beyschlag's question (*Leben Jesu*, i. p. 168): "Did Plato's friends who spread the rumor of his being divinely begotten, injure his mother's reputation in Athens?" It may be added that (as Knowling indicates) this "rumor" probably arose some generations later, and had nothing to do with "Plato's friends."

² Didon, *Jésus Christ*, i. p. 72 (quoted by Knowling, *l. c.*).

³ Irenæus, i. 26. 1; iii. 21. 1; iv. 33. 4; v. 1. 3.

adultery and born in illegitimacy. It is true there is in the New Testament (Matthew and Luke excepted) no direct evidence that Jesus was born of a virgin, but there is also none that Christ's disciples ever spoke of their master after his death as Joseph's son — the natural Jewish way of naming him.¹ These Jewish calumnies are very old. They are chiefly attributed to Akiba (who is said to have been killed by the Romans in A. D. 135, at the age of 120), or to other Rabbis among his predecessors or contemporaries.² It is safe to assume that the earliest of the calumnies probably date back into the first century. Now the essence of the Talmudic utterances about Christ is *caricature*. His words are distorted, his titles punningly debased, his miracles attributed to magic, and the story of his death is completely travestied.³ But through all the lies and anachronisms we catch glimpses of facts contained in the Gospels. It is remarkable that the events narrated in the first chapters of Matthew and Luke, which we are considering, have not escaped. The flight into Egypt, the coming of the Magi, and perhaps the interview of Jesus with the doctors in the temple, seem to furnish subjects of allusion.⁴ And we may see a sort of travesty of the link by which Jesus is added to the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, in the assertion of a contemporary of Akiba, that he found in Jerusalem a book of genealogies in which was written that Jesus was a bastard of a married woman.⁵ This is the topic which, directly or indirectly, forms a part of nearly all the Talmudic references to Jesus. It is the point of a relatively large number of passages, and in others it is brought into view by the disgraceful titles (Ben Stada, Ben Pandera, etc.) by which he is named. Now, till after Christ's death no Jew, disciple or enemy, seems to have known of anything irregular or extraordinary connected with his birth. Near the beginning of the second century the church clearly holds the virgin-birth,⁶ with no sign of past controversy over it, and the hostile Jews are pouring out these calumnies. The conclusion is

¹ Luke iii. 23; iv. 22; John i. 45; vi. 42.

² Cf. Laible, *Jesus im Thalmud* (1891), p. 37 f., 89 f.

³ Laible, *l. c.*, p. 58 ff., 9-26, 44 f., 73-88.

⁴ Laible, *l. c.*, p. 42 f., 46 f., 14 f., 38; Zahn, *Das apostolische Symbolon* (1893), p. 61.

⁵ Laible, *l. c.*, p. 31; Matt. i. 16; Luke iii. 23.

⁶ Cf. Ignatius, *Ephes.* 7, 18, 19; *Trall.* 9.; *Smyrn.* 1.; Aristides, *Apol.* c. 2. Basileides and Valentinus, the early Gnostics, also accepted the virgin-birth. (Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*)

irresistible, that these slanders embody the Jewish interpretation of the events connected with Christ's birth, recorded in Matthew and Luke, and are the caricature of what the church believed.¹ These calumnies thus become a witness to the faith of the church in the virgin-birth in the last quarter of the first century, since they are the counterblast to the claims of the Christians.

6. One of the strongest objections to the view that the virgin-birth is legendary is found in the difficulty of discovering probable sources for the legend or motives for its creation. It is difficult to state or prove a universal negative, yet it seems fair to claim, that if this be a legend, some natural source must be found for it in heathen, or Jewish, or Jewish-Christian ideas, or some adequate doctrinal motive must account for its creation.

Among possible sources, all heathen mythology is at once excluded by the intensely Jewish form and coloring of the narratives in Matthew and Luke. Hindu incarnation of a deity, or Greek descent of a hero from a god and a woman, would awaken only repulsion and antagonism in the Jewish mind.² The Jewish mind has evidently given to the opening chapters of our first and third Gospels their present aspect, and that medium was impervious to such heathen ideas. And the records themselves show that no Oriental pantheism or Greek anthropomorphism has influenced them. All points of contact with heathenism are so completely wanting, that it is now conceded on both sides that only Jewish sources can be considered.

But here again there is a great improbability of such a legend arising spontaneously on Jewish soil. Not only the heathen aspect of it, but any form or manner of the incarnation or humanization of God was utterly offensive to the Hebrew mind of that day, and contradictory, not only to its narrow monotheism, but also to its transcendent conception of the distance and difference separating God and man.³ On Jewish-Christian ground we may enlarge the field of view theologically. Asceticism, prophecy, and sonship are the three sources sometimes alleged here for a legend. But no ascetic ideas of the impurity of marriage or of the superiority of virginity were current among Jews, when and where these narratives came into being. The narratives themselves show this by their whole dealing with the subject, and especially

¹ Cf. Zahn, *l. c.*, p. 61.

² Cf. Laible, *l. c.*, p. 49; Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, pp. 39-42.

³ Cf. Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, i. p. 48 f.; Nösgen, *Gesch. Jesu Christi*, p. 114; Schultz, *Gotttheit Christi*, pp. 346-352; Justin, *Trypho*, cc. 48, 50, 68.

by not excluding but distinctly favoring the idea that Joseph had children by Mary.¹ Nor is there any evidence that Isaiah vii. 14 was ever understood as predicting the virgin-birth, until after and from the event itself.² Nor does the title "Son of God" applied to Jesus furnish any ground for the spontaneous development from Jewish premises of a legend of miraculous conception and virgin-birth. It conveyed to the Jewish mind no such ideas as we naturally connect with it, no hint of essential relation, peculiar paternity or incarnation. "Son of God" is applied in the Old Testament first to Israel, second to Israel's theocratic king, and finally to the ideal theocratic king of the future, the coming Messiah. Among the contemporaries of Jesus it was practically a synonym for "Messiah," till Jesus taught his disciples a higher significance. The decisive fact here is that it was among Jewish Christians that, so far as we can see, the first Christian or rather heretical opposition arose to the virgin-birth, and the old view current during the lifetime of Jesus, that he was son of Joseph and Mary, came again to the front, with Cerinthus and the Ebionites.³

Finally, we have to ask: Did not early Christian thought and theologizing furnish a foundation for the formation of a legend of the miraculous conception and the virgin-birth? May not that legend have arisen as the inference, basis, or connection of other teachings about Christ, to refute his lowly origin, to prove his Messiahship, to connect with his preëxistence, to form a basis for his sinlessness, to account for his incarnation, to found his divine sonship, to prove his deity? No! The most remarkable thing about the New Testament teaching concerning the manner of the Incarnation is that it is never made the subject of theological reflection at all, never used as a theological argument or makeweight. The sole apparent exception is Luke i. 35, where the holiness and divine Sonship of Jesus are connected with his miraculous conception. But this is manifestly an inference from the predicted events themselves, like the application of Isaiah vii. 14 in Matthew i. 23, with its interpretation of "Immanuel."

7. Now the great objection to the virgin-birth is, as we have seen, the meagreness of direct evidence for it in the New Testa-

¹ Matt. i. 25; xii. 46; Luke ii. 7; viii. 19; cf. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, i. p. 229; Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles* (1892), p. 277 f. *Contra*, Keim, *Hist. of Jesus of Nazara*, ii. p. 59 f. But there is no sign of contact with Essenism or other asceticism here.

² Matt. i. 22 f.; cf. Weiss, *l. c.*, i. p. 228; Steele, W. F., in *Methodist Review*, January, 1892, pp. 22-24.

³ Cf. Weiss, *l. c.*, i. p. 229.

ment. One great reason for this is that it was not used as a theological datum. If referred to in the Epistles, it would naturally be used, like other features of Christ's life and death, for religious purposes, and in theological connections. And then it would probably be easy for the critics to account for the rise of the legend as the attempt to give a historic basis for that which was felt to be a dogmatic necessity. But if the virgin-birth was a fact, from which in the early days of the church no dogmatic inferences were drawn, then we should expect to find it only in the two Gospels which deal with the ancestry and early history of Jesus. The plans of Mark and John exclude it, for both confine their view to the work rather than the life of Jesus,¹ and include only that which apostles could attest.

Further, by the natural course of events and by its own nature, the virgin-birth was for a considerable period an esoteric doctrine. Facts fraught with such cruel suspicion to Mary she would not disclose,² nor would Joseph communicate that of which he himself was convinced only by a miracle,³ save possibly near his life's end to one who was the source of Matthew's story. No apostle probably heard of it till after, perhaps long after, the death of Jesus. Forming no part of that to which the apostles could bear witness, and no part of the evidence on which they had believed, and being in itself by no means calculated to inspire faith in an unbelieving Jew, or the right kind of ideas in an unbelieving Gentile, it would naturally be omitted from all the missionary preaching of the apostles after they came to know of it. The scoffs and sneers of both Jews and heathen, Celsus, for instance,⁴ when later it did become known, emphasize the need of this reticence. As the Messianic expectations of the Jews included nothing of this kind, there would be no question on the point. The view that silence implies ignorance is particularly untenable here. Thus we see that the undoubted fact that the virgin-birth did not belong to the original gospel preaching of the apostles⁵ has far less importance than Professor Harnack ascribes to it, and the five proofs with which he fortifies it are not nearly so imposing as they at first seem.⁶ In most of the New Testament writings, either their

¹ Cf. Godet, *Com. sur . . . Luc* (1872), i. p. 194 f.

² Cf. Luke ii. 19, 51.

³ Steele, *l. c.*, p. 21.

⁴ Origen, *contra Celsum*, c. c. 37, 39.

⁵ Cf. Godet, *l. c.*, i. p. 196.

⁶ Harnack, *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*, Ed. 25 (1893), p. 23. In brief his proofs are: it is wanting (1) in Paul's and all the Epistles; (2) in

scope is so small (James, Peter, Jude) or their subject so remote (Acts, Revelation) that the virgin-birth would hardly come into their field of view, though the author of Acts knew of it. Hebrews may omit it owing to Jewish prejudice, or it may not have seemed to him necessary to his argument. We have still to speak of Paul and John.

8. Paul. In Paul's case there is an antecedent probability of his knowledge of the virgin-birth, in his intimacy with Luke, who incorporated into his "Pauline" gospel the most complete and consistent testimony to it we have. One link between Paul and Luke bears on the subject. Luke (i. 35) speaks of Jesus as Son of God through his miraculous birth, and (iii. 38) mentions Adam in a similar way, probably for a like reason. But, however we interpret this latter verse, we may see here a connection with Paul's parallel between Adam and Christ, between the "first Adam" and the "last Adam," and a reason for applying this term to Christ.¹

It is generally assumed² that Galatians iv. 4 contains no hint that Paul accepted the virgin-birth, because of the proverbial character of the phrase "born of a woman." Lipsius even goes so far as to assert that the virgin-birth is here excluded, though even Hilgenfeld and Steck justly deny this.³ It seems to have been overlooked that while the proverbial phrase "born," or strictly "begotten of or from a woman," is absolutely unvaried wherever it occurs,⁴ Paul uses a wholly different expression, literally "having become out of a woman."⁵ We should not be going as far as Lipsius did on the other side, if we asserted that Paul avoids the proverbial phrase because of its implication of human fatherhood in the word "begotten." Paul wishes here to emphasize as much as possible Christ's self-identification with humanity and with Judaism. So he dwells on his having a human mother and

Mark, perhaps in John; (3) in the source common to Matthew and Luke; (4) the genealogies connect only with Joseph; (5) all the Gospels witness (two directly, two indirectly) that the original preaching about Christ began with his baptism. (1), (2), and (4) we deal with in this essay. (3) The "Logia," from the way they probably came into being, could not be expected to include this topic. (5) True, but we need to realize that this primitive gospel was amplified very early in several directions.

¹ Cf. Weiss, *Theol. d. N. T.* (1888), 138 b. note 6.

² E. g., by Lightfoot and Lipsius in their commentaries.

³ Cf. Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 246.

⁴ Job xiv. 1; xv. 14 (LXX.), Matt. xi. 11, Luke vii. 28, always γεννητός γυναικός, or the plural.

⁵ Γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός.

on his subjection to the Law, the first of which is true of every man, and the second of every Jew, because they were so extraordinary in Christ's case as a description of the disguise in which "God sent forth his son."¹ In laying stress on Christ's identification with the race and with the Jews, it would have been very much out of place to refer to his supernatural birth from a Hebrew virgin. For this would have made prominent his difference, not only from other men, but also from other Jews, since birth from a Hebrew woman did not of itself subject any one to the law. Timothy, son of a Jewish mother, was an uncircumcised Gentile.² Paul might have ascribed to Christ a much more complete identification with humanity and with Judaism, if he had felt at liberty to do so, just as he might have adopted the proverbial phrase we have already noticed. When the Jews of the second century, who did not believe in the virgin-birth, wished to express the complete identity of Jesus with mankind, they called him "a human being from human beings," embodying their view that *both* his parents were human.³ And when Paul speaks of his own complete participation in Judaism, he in like manner dwells on the fact that *both* his own parents were Hebrews. Paul would have made his point much more strongly had he described Christ as "begotten from a woman, a human being from human beings, a Hebrew from Hebrews."⁴ We do not know why he avoided these or like expressions, current in the language of his day, but belief in the virgin-birth would have been the best possible reason for so doing.

Galatians iv. 4 implies that he who became man preëxisted as the Son of God. To this Romans i. 3, 4 adds that this sonship to God persisted in his human personality as a holy, spiritual nature, since, while he was David's descendant in his flesh he was also God's Son in his spirit of holiness. Son of David he became when born of a woman, but how did the Son of God, as a holy, spiritual nature, unite with that "flesh," *that is*, human nature, in his human birth? Here is an abnormal and miraculous factor introduced into the birth of Christ. Did Paul believe that this was additional to the natural factors of birth, as it must have been if Jesus was son of Joseph, or that this in part super-

¹ Cf. Weiss (Meyer), *Der Brief a. d. Römer* (1891), p. 46.

² Zahn, *Das apostolische Symbolum*, p. 64 f.

³ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, a description of Jesus current among Jews. Justin, *Trypho*, cc. 48, 49, 67.

⁴ Γεννητὸν γυναικὸς, ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, Ἑβραῖον ἐξ Ἑβραίων. (Phil. iii. 5.)

seded the natural factors of human birth? Let us see what is suggested by other aspects of Paul's views.

He traces the universal sinfulness of man to Adam's sin.¹ The channel through which Adam's sinfulness produces universal sinfulness is suggested rather than defined as his fatherhood over the race, with which he is connected by natural generation.² The result of Adam's sin in his posterity is sin's dominion in all men over the flesh, which thus becomes "sinful flesh,"³ *that is*, human nature under the power of sin.⁴ In men who are under sin's dominion, the Law produces knowledge and increase of sin.⁵ Now to this entire effect of sin, brought about in every other human being, through the connection with Adam by natural generation, Christ is the solitary exception. The connection of all other men with Adam has produced in them fallen human nature, "sinful flesh." Christ has a different human nature. Paul tells us he "knew no sin,"⁶ and by the way in which he describes his own coming to know sin through the discovery of a sinful tendency in himself,⁷ we recognize that this description of Christ denies not only all transgression in his life, but also all inherited tendency to sin in his nature. This is confirmed by Romans viii. 3, where to Christ is ascribed a human nature which is not "sinful flesh," not, like our human nature, dominated by sin, but is "in the likeness of sinful flesh," the point of difference being the entire absence of sin, whether as a principle or in practice.⁸ Sin is not of the essence of human nature. Our nature is degenerate, Christ's human nature was normal. Yet again the same truth is implied in the fact, already stated, that it was as a spirit of holiness that the Son of God united with a human nature, and became man, for "a spirit of holiness" could not unite with "sinful flesh." Finally, although "made of a woman, made under the law," Christ showed none of the frailty of those that are "born of women,"⁹ nor did the Law produce in him, as in all other Jews, "the knowledge of sin."

To sum up: there was a divine preëxistent factor in Christ's personality not in ours, his human nature differed from ours, the

¹ Romans iii. 9, 23; v. 12, 19.

² Cf. Weiss, *Theol. d. N. T.* (1888), 67 d.

³ Romans v. 21; vi. 12; vii. 25; viii. 3.

⁴ Cf. for the meaning of "flesh," Weiss, *l. c.*, 68 b.

⁵ Romans iii. 20; v. 20; vii. 7, 13.

⁶ 2 Cor. v. 21.

⁷ Romans vii. 7.

⁸ Cf. Weiss (Meyer), *Der Brief a. d. Römer* (1891), p. 334.

⁹ Thayer, *N. T. Lexicon*, s. v. *γεννητός*.

effect of Adam's sin did not reach him. How did this divine factor enter his earthly personality? How was this human nature made to differ from ours? How was the effect of Adam's sin, conveyed to all other men by natural generation, excluded from influencing him? Paul does not answer these questions, but the Biblical reply is "by the virgin-birth."

9. John. The antecedent probability that John knew of the virgin-birth, if any one knew about it, is very strong. We find abundant evidence in his writings of the desire to sound the depths and to explore the mysteries of the person and coming of the Christ. His exceptional intimacy with the mother of Jesus¹ would give him access to the sole living depository of the original facts, though perhaps the narrative of Matthew, of which Joseph would seem to have been the ultimate source, was transmitted through one of the Lord's brethren. Again, John not only wrote at a time when we may assume that the synoptic Gospels were well known, but also shows acquaintance with them, since he often supplements their statements, or corrects the impression which standing alone they might produce. But he nowhere hints at non-acceptance of the narratives of the virgin-birth, nor corrects the view corresponding to those narratives,² a view which must have been current in the church in his day,³ whether through Matthew and Luke or independent of them. Another fact well worthy of notice in this connection is that Cerinthus, the Jewish-Gnostic heretic, the contemporary and opponent of John,⁴ rejected the virgin-birth as impossible.⁵ This implies that the virgin-birth was held by the church which Cerinthus antagonized. The protagonist of the church and the special adversary of Cerinthus was John.

These three reasons make a strong presumption that John accepted the virgin-birth. And this is indirectly confirmed by his writings. There is no place in the writings of John where we should expect a direct allusion to the virgin-birth. The Gospel is apparently confined to personal recollections, and in the prologue the moral and spiritual aspects of the Incarnation absorb attention in a manner practically exclusive of what may be

¹ John xix. 26 f.

² Cf. Holtzmann, *Einleitung i. d. N. T.*, ed. 3, p. 440; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, i. p. 227; *Introduction to the N. T.*, ii. pp. 366-371.

³ See the next few lines, also section 5 on Jewish calumnies.

⁴ Irenæus, iii. 11. 1, iii. 3. 4; cf. Weiss, *Introduction to the N. T.*, ii. p. 76.

⁵ Irenæus, i. 26. 1.

called its physical side. Probably the church on this point was so united and clear that John did not feel the need of apology and argument in this direction. The virgin-birth is clearly held by Ignatius, and, a little later, Aristides, both early in the second century,¹ but we find no argument on the subject till Justin, and then only against the Jews. But John's theology may be said to imply the virgin-birth. He separates the natural and the spiritual birth of man. The natural birth being from the flesh, and the result of natural generation (whose paternal factors are "blood, the will of the flesh, the will of a man"), produces only "flesh" which cannot enter God's kingdom, being (as the comparison with the result of spiritual birth shows) sinful, and, as such, enslaved to sin.² In contrast to this is the spiritual birth, the new birth, mediated, not by flesh, but by spirit.³ This is the result of God's fatherhood, of God's begetting, from which all the generative factors of human fatherhood ("blood," the physical vehicle of life, "the will of the flesh," the instinctive animal impulse, "the will of a man," the act of the moral self-conscious being) are expressly excluded.⁴ We see how sharply are contrasted the factors of the natural and of the spiritual birth.

Jesus was for John the spiritual one who, of course, as sinless, had no need of any spiritual renewal or new birth.⁵ It follows, therefore, that the factors of the new birth must have been present and dominant in Christ's human birth, by which "the Logos became flesh."⁶ But for the production of a spiritual man, of a sinless being, the exclusion of all the factors of human fatherhood is explicitly required, because they are superseded and shut out by God's begetting and by the Spirit's mediation.⁷ In the light of these statements, can it be imagined that John ascribed the incarnation of the Son of God even in part to those very factors of human fatherhood which he expressly excludes from the begetting of the spiritual man and child of God? It is perhaps not insignificant of the real connection between them, that the elaborate statement of the way in which God's children are

¹ Ignatius, *Ephes.* 7, 18, 19; *Trall.* 9; *Smyrn.* 1; Aristides, *Apol.* c. 2.

² John iii. 5, 6; i. 13; viii. 34.

³ John iii. 5-8.

⁴ 1 John iii. 9; iv. 7; v. 1, 4, 18; John i. 13 (where we should read "begotten," not "born").

⁵ John iii. 34; 1 John iii. 5.

⁶ John i. 14.

⁷ John i. 13; iii. 5, 6.

begotten immediately precedes the description of the Incarnation, "the Logos became flesh;" and the reading favored by some of the early Fathers, "*who was* begotten, not of blood," etc., though undoubtedly wrong, is a legitimate inference.

Again, the sinlessness of Jesus supplies another, parallel line of reasoning. John asserts man's sinfulness and Christ's sinlessness.¹ Man's sinfulness is by John connected with his unregenerate life, chiefly, as we have seen, through the force of the contrast, by which the regenerate life, begotten of God through the Spirit, produces sinlessness in man, — sinlessness perfect in the degree in which the process of regeneration is complete.² Now it is true that just as Christians are not called "sons of God" but "children," and Christ alone "the Son," so being "begotten of God" is ascribed to Christians alone, never to Christ.³ But this does not exclude the inference that Christ's perfect Sonship implies a perfect moral likeness to God, just as becoming God's child produces in man a relative moral likeness, a progressive sinlessness.⁴ If sinlessness is the result of sonship to God, of that divine begetting which excludes all factors of human fatherhood, can the process by which Christ's sinless humanity came into being be an ordinary birth from Joseph and Mary?

Indeed, the very phrase in which John describes the Incarnation, "the Logos became flesh," leaves no room for human fatherhood. The Logos is represented as active in becoming incarnate, of course through the relatively passive coöperation of Mary, — passive, because a result of her nature, rather than of her will. Certainly this would be a very inadequate and misleading expression if it was intended to convey the idea that the Logos united himself to a human being who had already, at whatever stage of development, come into being as offspring of Joseph and Mary. Of course John does not define the miracle of the Incarnation, but the words he uses harmonize far better with the narratives in Matthew and Luke than with the idea that Jesus was son of Joseph and Mary.

But some see in the Logos-doctrine of John a theory of the Incarnation incompatible with the virgin-birth. This is because they misinterpret Luke's description of the action of God's spirit.

¹ 1 John i. 8, 9; iii. 5.

² 1 John iii. 9; v. 18.

³ Westcott, *Epistles of John*, wrongly interprets 1 John v. 18, and John i. 18 does not apply here.

⁴ Cf. Weiss, *Theol. d. N. T.* (1888), 150 d.

There is here no mention of the personal Holy Spirit, as the parallel with "the power of the highest" and the absence of the Greek article show, but of the creative power of God which mediates the Incarnation.¹ The expression in Matthew is less detailed and explicit, "that which is begotten in her is from holy spirit," that is, from God's creative power. This is less clear and full than Luke's statement, but we must remember that it was chiefly intended to combat the wrong impression which Joseph would naturally have, by assuring him that the source of Mary's condition was divine and not human. Rightly interpreted, neither passage contains anything inconsistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation as found in Paul and John.

10. Having dealt with the criticism of those who regard the virgin-birth as legendary, we must not overlook their constructive attempts to account for the rise of the legend. These have been virtually answered already, but the mere statement of them is useful, since in their wide gaps and general inadequacy we may discern the weakness of this evolution-hypothesis.

Keim, who has really collected all the material, asserts that "the opinion of the virgin-birth hung together with popular Jewish views." These we find to be chiefly the ideas of the connection of the workings of God's Spirit with the birth of God's chosen ones, which, with Isaiah vii. 14 as interpreted by Matthew, and the influence of Jewish asceticism, suggest the virgin-birth!²

Beyschlag follows in the same track, but invests the slender proportions of the argument with the grace of statement and the charm of style in which he is a master. He drops asceticism, however, because there is no evidence for it in this connection, and finally acknowledges in a foot-note the insufficiency of his own explanation.³ Both these writers, though they disclaim it, Keim very explicitly, really have to ascribe the paternity of Jesus to God's Spirit, and pass lightly over the gulf which separates the working of God's Spirit, in connection with the births of Isaac and John the Baptist, from the Incarnation, which is wholly repugnant to Jewish views.

Lobstein,⁴ the latest investigator, traces the whole legend to the idea of sonship, which, at first (on the Old Testament basis)

¹ Cf. Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. p. 46 f.

² Gal. iv. 29; Romans ix. 8; Luke i. 15; Matt. i. 23; cf. Keim, *l. c.*, ii. p. 46 f. 59 f.

³ Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 166 f., p. 168.

⁴ *Le dogme de la naissance miraculeuse etc.* (1890), p. 26-29.

theocratic, became in Christian development first metaphysical and finally physical. In connection with this he brings in, but less prominently and more cautiously, the same passages about the Spirit's influence, and sees in them an idea closely related to that of the virgin-birth. This appears to me even weaker than its predecessors, and the same criticisms apply to it, besides which we may call attention to the unbridged chasms between the three kinds of sonship, here made parts of one continuous and spontaneous evolution.

11. In conclusion, there are some theological considerations which must not be passed over. We assume, as hitherto, first, as Christ's person was a miracle, so the Incarnation was a miracle, the result of a special and unique creative act of divine power; second, the divine Logos was eternally preëxistent with God. The miracle is generally conceded, the preëxistence is not.

(1) If Christ came into being like other men, where does the acknowledged miracle of the Incarnation come in? When does it occur? We may almost ask, why might it not occur in connection with the natural birth of some other man?

(2) The Logos, who became flesh, must be the original causative and controlling factor in the formation of the person of Christ, but if all the elements of a complete human person were provided through Joseph and Mary, the Logos becomes an extraneous, redundant factor. Unless the Logos supersedes some natural factor in the genesis of the person of Christ, the result can only be a man influenced by the Logos, or (if with the critics we discard the Logos-theology) a man endowed with God's spirit in an exceptional degree. But Christ's birth from a woman is not only necessary for his identification with the race, but is vouched for by the whole New Testament. Only the paternal factor could therefore have been superseded by the Logos.

(3) "A sinless man is as much a miracle in the moral world as a virgin-birth is a miracle in the physical world."¹ We may add that there is here a peculiar congruity, as of effect and cause. If Jesus was son of Joseph, born like us, why was he sinless, and he alone sinless, among all men that ever lived? It is here objected, with much apparent force, that the virgin-birth of Jesus cannot be the cause of his sinlessness, for the reason that he would have inherited the tendency to sin, common to all men, just as

¹ Bruce, A. B., *Apologetics*, p. 410. This topic is elaborated with much cogency by A. Berthoud, and Professor Orr. See *The Thinker*, July, August, 1893, pp. 68-71, 136-142.

surely from Mary alone, as from both Joseph and Mary. But there is here not simply the question of excluding one of two equal factors of inheritance. John connects, as we have seen, the transmission of a sinful nature, not with all the factors of natural birth, but solely with those on the father's side, by which the connection with Adam is *actively* originated. Paul, too, makes Adam, the source and head of the race, also the source of its sinfulness, though he recognizes the fact that Eve sinned first.¹ Indeed, it is not unnatural to associate an act of will (John i. 13) with the transmission of the moral quality of human nature. We may not know just what underlies these views of John and Paul, but on such a mysterious subject we cannot deny weight to them. Further, the Logos, in uniting himself with a human nature derived from Mary, would associate with himself, and, so to speak, assimilate, only such human elements as were germane in moral purity to his own divine holiness. As sinfulness is no necessary constituent of human nature, but a deformity, its sources in Mary might well be prevented from participation in forming the human nature of the Christ. The divine element, which supplants human initiative, controls the entire process. These are speculations, but they can claim to rank as high, at least, as the assertion against which they are adduced.

We have tried at some length to show that the narratives of Matthew and Luke are with great probability historic, not legendary, and that they are supported by the rest of the New Testament, so far as we could expect. We do not expect to convince any one who has already given up the doctrine of the preëxistence of Christ, but we may perhaps hope to be of some service to those who have feared that there was no answer to be made to recent attacks on this dear article of our creed.

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¹ Romans v. 12 f.; 1 Cor. xv. 45 ff.; 2 Cor. xi. 3.

EDITORIAL.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW: 1884-1893.

WITH the present number the "Andover Review" completes its tenth year. With the present number, also, its publication ceases. The principal reason for its discontinuance is the amount of work on the part of the editors which is necessary to maintain a theological review of high standard. For the last two years the increasing demands of work in the Seminary, incident to the enlargement of the course of studies under the elective system, have made it difficult to give proper attention to the "Review." The withdrawal of Professor Tucker, by reason of his becoming President of Dartmouth College, has reduced the original working force of editors. A year ago we thought seriously of discontinuing, and kept on at the earnest solicitation of friends. But now the reasons for relieving ourselves of the work of editing seem decisive. A Review devoted to Theology, Biblical Studies, Sociology, and Missions, should have an editor who can devote all his time to it, and who has a sufficient compensation. It should not be permanently conducted by editors who can give only fragments of time snatched from the absorbing and imperative demands of professional work. If at some future time it should be deemed best to establish a Review in the interest of genuinely Christian thought we shall be very glad to coöperate. But, although with some reluctance, we are persuaded that we cannot longer assume the entire responsibility of such a work.

The purpose of the "Review" has been unchanged from the outset. It has stood for liberty and comprehensiveness. To think according to Christianity has been its maxim. Its pages have been open to writers of various denominations and different schools of thought, who have contributed to a better understanding of Christianity as truth and as life. The discussion of doctrine has been given an important place. The results of Biblical scholarship have had immediate recognition. The application of Christianity in social and institutional work, in education, evangelization, and missions, has had frequent and ample consideration. We have also endeavored, by departments of information and by notices of important books, to keep our readers acquainted with contributions to religious knowledge at home and abroad. Nearly all that has been written by the editors has appeared unsigned (and so with the sanction of the whole body) in the editorial department. The character of the "Review" has been most clearly seen in these articles. We have discussed a wide variety of topics suggested by current phases of religious thought and effort. So far as we have engaged in controversy, it has been for the purpose of using concrete issues to maintain essential principles, and especially to advocate liberty of opinion according to Christianity, and equality of right in Christian service. The two series of theological articles which appeared in 1885 and in 1892 were deemed of sufficient value to warrant

their publication as books. The one, entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy," has been taken as, on the whole, fairly representing the modern attempt to Christianize theology; the other, entitled "The Divinity of Jesus Christ," presents the realities of Incarnation and Redemption, as they are understood in the light of the most recent Biblical and historical scholarship and of the Divine revelation in nature, in humanity, and in the eternal Son. How well the "Review" in contributed and editorial articles has fulfilled its purpose, our readers must judge. We have, at least, never deviated consciously from exact accuracy and complete fairness, and have seldom been called on to correct any statement. We have also endeavored to maintain a dignified and impartial temper when it has seemed necessary to differ sharply from the opinions and methods of others.

The decade of the life of this "Review" has been marked by two theological controversies of considerable importance to the Congregational churches of America, and which have in some measure called for discussion in our pages. Charges against the editors were presented in August, 1886, and the adverse decision of the Board of Visitors of the Theological Seminary against Professor Smyth was set aside by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in October, 1891, the Board of Visitors itself dismissing the charges in September, 1892. It was also in 1886, at about the time proceedings against the Andover professors were known to have been taken, that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions formally adopted, at the annual meeting in Des Moines in October, its resolution of caution with respect to the "doctrine of a probation after death." The controversy thus precipitated was practically ended at the meeting in October of this year at Worcester by the appointment of Mr. Noyes as a missionary and by the retirement of a secretary and two members of the Prudential Committee, who had been strenuous supporters of the policy supposed to have been sanctioned at Des Moines.

The first of these controversies, known as the Andover Case, although directly pertaining to the interpretation of a single creed and to the instruction given in a single institution, turned upon issues of wider importance, and especially upon the authority of the Bible and the comprehensiveness of redemption. The other controversy turned upon the single issue of a Christian probation for all men, made concrete in the hope or hypothesis of the enlightenment of the heathen after death. The real issue, however, was concerning liberty to entertain such a hope, and equal liberty of opinion for preachers at home and missionaries abroad. The result of both controversies is the triumph of Christian liberty and comprehensiveness of belief, rather than the vindication or suppression of particular opinions. The "Andover Case" was so personal to the editors that we refrained from extended discussion of it in the "Review," and contented ourselves with printing the formal charges and the decisions rendered, and with brief comments on those

decisions. The policy of the American Board we criticised frequently and earnestly as pertaining not merely to the management of a missionary society, but to liberty of Christian thought. Neither of these issues had taken form when the "Review" was first published, and there was then little expectation of engaging in such theological controversy. From first to last the larger purpose of the "Review" has been adhered to, and controversies have been made only the occasion of promoting that purpose.

We express the heartiest thanks to those who have supported the "Review" as contributors, subscribers, and givers. Their encouragement has been constant and generous, and has made it possible to maintain in a good measure the standard of excellence at which we have aimed.

It is not without a feeling of reluctance and even of regret that we lay aside our work as editors. Although a "Review" is impersonal, it creates a kind of attachment. It becomes almost a friend. It is the exponent of much that is of the deepest personal interest. The plans and labors which it involves pertain to the most precious values of life. The service for the church and the world which has been attempted on its pages has been a consecrated and united service, which has bound those engaged in it very closely together. Yet our deliberate judgment leads us to relinquish the work. And therefore, cherishing the belief that the "Review" has contributed something to the advancement of Christian knowledge, to the liberty of Christian opinion, and to the progress of the kingdom of God, we conclude in this number our editorial labors.

THE WORCESTER MEETING OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.

The pages of this "Review" contain the more important documents pertaining to the contest which has been going on for several years within the American Board. We continue and we trust complete this chapter in its history by giving now a record of resolutions adopted and action taken at the last annual meeting. Happily there is occasion for little or no comment.

The following resolutions were adopted in reference to the corporate membership:—

Resolved, (1) That the plan for asking for nominations to be made by State or other Congregational bodies of the churches for filling vacancies in the corporate membership of the Board which was temporarily adopted at the last Annual Meeting—and which reads as follows: "That the committee for the nomination of new members, appointed at this meeting, be directed to receive from the State, Territorial, or independent organizations of Congregational churches, during the coming year, nominations of persons to fill vacancies which may occur in the Board, somewhat more in number being desirable than the average usually assigned to any State or Territory; and from such names, if furnished, to select and report at the next Annual Meeting enough to fill three fourths of the vacancies which may then exist, regard being had to a division

between ministers and laymen and the apportionment of members according to the By-laws" — be continued for the next two ensuing years.

(2) That the limit of corporate membership be fixed at the number of three hundred and fifty (350), and that in addition to vacancies regularly occurring, twenty-five (25) persons be nominated and chosen at each Annual Meeting for the next four (4) years, commencing with 1894.

(3) That the By-laws Three (3) and Five (5) be amended to correspond with the second recommendation.

(4) That seasonable notice be annually sent by the proper officials of the Board to the several bodies of churches to enable them to make the suggested nominations.

The following resolutions were also adopted, — the first and second *viva voce*, the third (appointing Mr. Noyes) by a vote of 106 to 24 : —

Whereas, a letter has been received from Secretary Clark, requesting the appointment of an Assistant Secretary to work with him and to take his place at the end of the coming year, or sooner, if his health should require his earlier retirement, and announcing his intention of then withdrawing from active service, in accordance with the usage of the Board that seventy years should be the limit of such service, it therefore seems desirable that an Assistant Secretary should be appointed, who shall be prepared to take the place thus vacated at the Annual Meeting of 1894. It is, therefore,

Resolved, (1) That the Committee on Nomination of Officers be requested to nominate a committee of five, who with the President shall be empowered to appoint an Assistant Secretary, in accordance with the above preamble.

(2) (a) That the Prudential Committee be increased at once to fifteen members, including the President and Vice-President.

(b) That, beginning at the Annual Meeting of 1894, the members of the Prudential Committee shall be elected in three classes : one class to serve three years, one class two years, one class one year ; that at the expiration of these terms members shall be chosen in classes for terms of three years each. It is further recommended that no member who has served three full successive terms shall be eligible for reelection till after a year has passed.

(c) That the Prudential Committee be requested to secure the necessary legal authority, through a change in the charter, to carry the above vote into effect.

(3) That this Board, in response to the expressed wish of its missionaries in Japan, and in recognition of the successful labors of the Rev. William H. Noyes in that empire, requests the Prudential Committee to offer to him an appointment as a missionary of the Board. The Board declares that this action is not to be understood as in any way modifying its former utterances on the subject of future probation.

Secretary Alden, and Rev. A. C. Thompson, D. D., and Elbridge Torrey, Esq., of the Prudential Committee, withdrew their names as candidates for reelection.

Rev. M. Burnham, D. D., Rev. George L. Walker, D. D., Hon. Samuel B. Capen, W. E. Hale, Esq., President M. H. Buckham, D. D., with the President of the Board, were appointed a committee to choose an assistant Foreign Secretary. Rev. Charles S. Daniels, D. D., was elected Home Secretary.

The significance of the meeting lies in the entrance of the churches upon a control of their foreign missionary work. Enough was done to make reasonably secure the further changes which are necessary, and to make it probable that these changes will be brought about without controversy. It is possible, of course, that the Congregationalizing the Board may come to signify a denominationalizing it, and this result in making it a part of an ecclesiastical machine. But the churches will have the power of correction in their own hands, and the lesson taught by the history of the last eleven years will always be easily deducible from their record. The result for the present, and we hope for a very long time to come, is a basis on which the constituency of the Board can unite in working through it for foreign missions.

May the new management, while mindful of the great inheritance it receives, be wise to discern the signs of the times, to match new conditions with new methods, to shake off burdensome and fettering traditions, and to trust the pure simple spiritual gospel of Christ, and the churches of Christ.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE antiquities of the Columbian Exposition have not been the least of its myriad attractions. There is nothing older than earth and water, which have been touched to beauty by the enchanter's wand. We are glad that the "paleoliths" of the Peabody Museum should bear witness for Professor G. F. Wright. Also that Mr. W. H. Holmes, of the Bureau of Ethnology, should display his "blanks" and "rejects" from an Indian quarry. Out of doors one may walk among the gigantic ruins of Central America. Or he may enter the palm-thatched hut of the Arawak, the birch-bark tent of the Penobscot, and the skin-roofed tepee of the plains. Forestry and Anthropology hive their hoary treasures in distinctive buildings. Under Professor Putnam's charge the great serpent mound of Ohio lives again in an ingenious model. Another sets before us the old cliff-dwellings on the red-brown rocks, while Mexican feather-shields and Peruvian mummies clamor for recognition. The Folk-Lore Society speaks to us by a series of games, representing the indoor pastimes of all peoples and all times. One might spend years in studying the collection of objects elucidating the brains and bodies, the industries and arts, the ethics and religions, of the world. Amid relics so primeval the Viking ship seems of yesterday. For a useful summary we commend Professor Starrs' article in the September "Popular Science Monthly" on Anthropology at the World's Fair.

The "Tribune" of July 30th has a striking letter from Chicago on the "Songs of the Omaha Indians." It was prompted by a paper read by Miss Alice Fletcher of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University,

before the Musical Congress. What is called the Omaha Kyrie Eleison is given with the notes. All Omaha children learn it. Translated, it runs: "O great mysterious power, I am poor, have pity on me." This prayer the child is taught when clay is put on his head and a tiny bow and arrows are given to him by his father. Later, when he is to enter on man's estate, he is sent out alone to some solitary spot, that through fasting and prayer his mind may become white. Day after day he lives thus alone; eating nothing, drinking nothing, repeating the prayer "*Wa-kan-da thae-thu wa-pa-thin-ah-tan-hae*." Miss Fletcher thinks that the scale relationship in the consciousness of the Indian is the same as that in ours. The deviations are due to an affected tremulousness for expression's sake. Mr. Filmore, who has verified Miss Fletcher's transcription and prepared the melodies for publication, is of the opinion that the process of melody-making on the part of primitive peoples is in reality an analysis of harmony. This latent harmonic sense is indicated in two ways: first by the modulations of the melody, second by the dissatisfaction of the Indians with the pianist, until he supplied the harmony which the succession of intervals suggested to his mind and musical sense.

To have heard these songs rendered in unison with drum-beat accompaniment by an educated Omaha and trusted clerk of the Indian Bureau was something never to be forgotten. The Folk-Song concert of the Folk-Lore Congress was but a manifold variation on the same theme. Diversity in unity was the key-note of that remarkable performance. Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Italy, Turkey, Japan, India, England, Scotland, America, in its Indians, Creoles, and Negroes, were represented by native minstrels in native songs. The voices contrasted like the costumes. The soul chorded like the singers.

For, as Dr. Peet has lately shown, and the World's Fair illustrates on the grandest scale, man is essentially and everlastingly one. Hence the perennial charm of the aboriginal religions. They have a geography as well as a history. The map of the continent reveals an evolution of one worship out of another. With descent toward the equator goes an ascent toward the Creator.

The highest belt of latitude is the habitat of the lowest type of religion. This is *Shamanism*, the creed of the fishers of the arctic circle. Then come the hunters of the forest belt of the north; they believe in *Totemism*. It consisted in the worship of ancestors or ancestral spirits which assumed the forms of animals and were called by animal names. The third stage was *Sun-worship*; the central and southern states were its home, and the mound-builders its votaries. Wooden idols representing ancestors of both sexes were common. *Sabeanism* is the fourth stage; the Pueblos of the interior practiced it. To them the sky was a house and each cardinal point had a color of its own. A yellow mountain lion guarded the yellow house of the north, a red wildcat

the red house of the south. Strangely symbolizing the lightning by serpents and the thunder by a bird, they placed supreme the image representing human ancestry and priesthood in one. The human form is lord over all. Fifth comes *Anthropomorphism*. Its seat was mainly among the civilized tribes of the southwest. There lived the culture-heroes, givers of law and receivers of adoration. These too were transformed in turn into ancestors, as we see from certain idols of Guatemala, with eyes hanging from their sockets. The serene face and deep wrinkles point unmistakably to portraiture. *Ancestor-worship pure and simple* is the sixth stage of religion; and this prevailed on the north-western coast. Why are these portrait pillars, emblematic in every part of the line of descent, confined to the Pacific? Dr. Peet maintains that the system came from Asia and was an importation either by the way of Polynesia and the eastern isles, or by the way of Mongolia and the Aleutians.

One of the totems from Queen Charlotte's Island, now at the World's Fair, is forty feet high and covered with hieroglyphics to the top. It bears the crests of the families which have occupied the adjoining house, back to the time when "chaos reigned and a god in guise of a raven brooded over impalpable darkness until after æons of ages he beat down the darkness into solid earth."

"Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," by Major Powell, seems to our kinsmen across the sea a paper of the first importance. The author's conclusions are, in brief:—

1. The North American Indian tribes, instead of speaking related dialects originating in a single parent language, in reality speak many languages belonging to distinct families which have no apparent unity of origin.
2. The Indian population of North America was greatly exaggerated by early writers, and instead of being large, was in reality small, taking food and soil into account.
3. Though small, the tribes had overspread the continent, and owned the territory in common for the most part.
4. Before the advent of the European, the tribes were sedentary. Afterward they became nomadic. This was largely the result of the introduction of the horse and firearms.
5. The agriculture general in the East and spreading in the West was inadequate to emancipate the Indian from the hunter state.

At Boston and Cambridge, last Easter, the American Oriental Society celebrated its golden wedding. Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson were two of its founders. They sought "the cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages." April 7, 1843, the Society was incorporated. Dr. W. Hayes Ward sketched vividly the missionary, the Sanscrit, the Semitic, and at last the modern chapter in the history of the organization of which Professor W. D. Whitney is the

most illustrious member. By a happy coincidence, Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, announced a new critical edition of the Books of the Old Testament, and Professor Moore, of Andover, described briefly the library of his erudite colleague Lagarde, now the possession of the University of New York. The sentiment of the past and the science of the future were recognized in the election of seven honorary members: Professor Guidi of Rome, Delitzsch of Leipzig, Sayce of Oxford, Oppert of Paris, Kern of Leyden, Cowell of Cambridge, and Dr. Rost of the India office.

It is a well-known fact that the British Museum is rich in Oriental and Indian coins. They are also rich in their numismatist, Stanley Lane Poole. He has just given the public a history of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan, illustrated by their coins. Their conquests, it seems, were marked by mints. The orthodox sovereigns stamped money notable only for calligraphy or arabesques. Not so the son of the tolerant Akbar. "On some of his coins he is represented in bust, wearing the royal robes and holding in one hand a book, probably the Koran, and in the other a goblet," — in defiance of the faith which forbade intoxicating drinks and figures of living men.

From the Indian Ocean but a step brings us to the Flowery Kingdom. Sea-traders took this step in the seventh century before Christ, and there minted bronze knives with legends. This at least is Terrien de Lacouperie's theory of the origin of the knife, spade, pu and round money of the Chinese. The latter are the ancestors of our copper cash. A currency ungraceful, unrounded, unstamped, and in many cases unissued by official persons, burdened the Celestials for hundreds of years. The author of the "Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the seventh century B. C. to A. D. 621, including the series in the British Museum," shows this with alert ingenuity and indefatigable research. Photographic illustrations are not wanting to prove how associations of traveling merchants improved the coinage. The fittest in value and form survived.

The name of de Lacouperie reminds us of the connection between China and western Asia, which of late he has found in the artificial tapering of the head and cutting steaks from live cattle. Through the Tel-el-Amarna tablets a writer in the "Westminster Review" has approached the same soil historically. He has called attention to the fact that the bulk of this official and diplomatic correspondence is concerned with the details of the great revolt of the Hittites and Amorites in the north, and the conquest of southern Palestine by the Abiri or Habiri. Amenophis III. of Egypt was the sovereign and the sufferer. In vain was the son of the Sun warned of the plots of former subjects, and entreated to send reinforcements to his faithful retainers on the coast. The monarch who was allied by marriage to Armenia and Babylonia saw a coalition against him by the one, and apathy on the

part of the other. The torrent of conquest by land and by sea swept against him as far as Tyre.

This would account for the state of equality in which the Hittites are found under the treaty of Rameses II. Among the antagonists of the governor of Jerusalem, who was true to the throne of the Pharaohs, who are the Habiri and the sons of Milkil? The Hebrew clans of *הַכִּנְרִי* and *בְּנֵי מִלְכִּיל*, suggested Professor M. Jastrow, Jr. He cites for reference, Gen. xlv. 17, Num. xxvi. 45, and 1 Chron. vii. 31, where they adjoin as subdivisions of the tribe of Asher. In the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (vol. xii. 1893, Part I. pp. 61-72) the same industrious scholar discusses the phrase "Judean Men" in letter No. 39 of the Berlin collection. He makes it a group or clan rather than a place or individual. Were it the latter, we should find, according to the rule, the determinative of country or person. Moreover, the word is written in our two passages with precisely the signs found in the inscriptions of the Sargonidæ, when the kingdom of Judah is spoken of.

The indignant Syrian governor protests to the Egyptian courtier that his loyalty has not yielded to bribe or threat. It is the "Men of Judah" who have fallen away from Amenophis. Does not the parallelism between Amelûti Ia-u-du and *אֲמֵלֻטִי יֵאוּדוּ* and the large admixture of foreign elements in the tribe of Judah, as set forth in the Old Testament tradition and genealogical lists, point toward a direct identification at the time of the El-Amarna correspondence between Ia-u-du and the tribe of Judah?

The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for July tells us that Mr. F. J. Bliss is to publish a memoir of his work at Tell-el-Hesi in the fall. June 6th, he addressed a large audience in England on his two years of digging. Quiet among the Arabs has favored his success. He has brought to bear a method unsurpassed for accuracy, precision, and thoroughness of record. From Amorite pottery to iron-smelting furnace and cuneiform tablet he has marched triumphantly, the discoverer of an ancient civilization heretofore only a name.

The present folklore of the land where he has labored is described in the same number. Sacred trees are the contrast of the fig, carob, and sycamore, which are the abode of devils. Palms and cactus have drunk of the water of life and are of the same substance as a human being. The olive tree is holy as giving food and light. If a man cut one down he would have no peace afterwards. The tamarisk is very holy. They are haunted like the lotus in which the music of unseen spirits is heard. Whenever the wind blows across them they call *Allah* Allah, sighing.

The evil eye has great power. "It throws down a house, breaks a plough, makes sick and kills persons, animals and plants." Remedies are a rag from the culprit's clothing or a chip of wood upon the fire. To lead the child injured, seven times round the latter is essential to

healing. The blue eye is especially malignant, and therefore blue beads round the neck are a special safeguard. Christian, Mohammedan, Jew, and Gentile believe in this superstition. It is stronger than religion.

The Jin live underground. They have a Sultan and courts, which are just, as Palestine is holy. Since they neither plough nor sow, they require food from man. But they cannot take wheat from the threshing-floor or bread from the oven if the first sentence of the Koran is repeated by the owner. To quench the fire without this precaution, is to be beaten or lamed. During Ramadan they are bridled. With the morning prayer at the end of the month they escape, pouring in troops into the houses in search of nourishment. Salt is a talisman to keep them out. It is sacred, like the swift, the pelican, and the lark, or the turtledove, which wept for Mohammed when he left Jerusalem for Heaven. The Christians consider the latter holy. "The red feathers were stained by the blood of Christ when it wallowed at the foot of the cross!"

Recent Hittite literature brings Major Conder stoutly to the front again. His table of Hittite characters of known sound is interesting and convenient. It embraces forty-two syllabic signs. He disagrees with M. Halévy that the Hittites were a *Semitic* people because of Panammu's statue with its long Semitic inscription. There is no reason to assume that he was a Hittite. Lantscheere's Proto-Armenian theory is ambiguous. He does not discriminate between Mongolic and Aryan dialects, both of which are represented in ancient as in modern Armenia. Peiser is right in accepting Conder's *Mongolic* view, but wrong in attributing the Hittite inscriptions to the age of Sennacherib. A seventh century date is far too late. Ball has since 1887 compared the Hittite with Hebrew, Armenian, and Chinese, so that his mind is evidently open. But he ignores the Cypriote comparison when he declares that "we do not certainly know the sound of a single Hittite symbol." Jensen's *Aryan* hypothesis has been published under too sanguine a title and with too slight acknowledgment of his predecessor's work. His conclusion that the language of the inscriptions is suffixed is correct, but it is fatal to Dr. Jensen's comparisons with modern Armenian. Such suffixes are distinctive of Mongolic, not Indo-European tongues. To say that the Hittite is hardly a *syllabic* but a species of *consonantal* writing seems to Conder to demonstrate that the brilliant Orientalist has not mastered the rudiments of his subject. He evolves where he ought to study. He conjectures where he should compare.

The arguments on which the vivacious explorer bases his own views are: 1. The reading of the short bilingual. 2. The character of the names of Hittite towns and persons. 3. The Akkadian verb-forms in the letter of the Hittite Prince of Rezeph. 4. The character of the Mitanni language spoken in Armenia fifteen centuries before Christ, especially the cases of the noun. 5. The sounds of Hittite emblems as

obtained from the Cypriote. "Until these arguments are shown to be fallacious," he continues, "it appears certain the Mongolic theory must prevail; especially as Sayce, Peiser, and Jensen now all agree that we have to deal with suffixing speech; for no Aryan language can be properly so described, and the only suffixing languages of Western Asia are Mongolic."

The series of lectures delivered in the summer of 1892 at Oxford, by Professor Ramsay, has recently taken shape in a volume entitled *The Church in the Roman Empire*. The "Travel-Document" of Paul in the Acts, and the South-Galatian as distinct from the North-Galatian theory of the origin of the Epistle to the Galatians, are there set forth with a great wealth of archaeological material. The perils of waters and perils of robbers on the Pisidian highlands in Paul's first journey are illumined by the following inscriptions:—

1. A dedication and thank-offering by Menis, son of Daos, to Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva, and all the gods, and also to the river Eurys, after he had been in danger and saved. Here is a record of an escape from drowning in a torrent swollen by rain.

2. An epitaph erected by Patroclus and Donda over the grave of their son Sonsou, a policeman slain by robbers.

3. References to gendarmes of various classes in such frequency as presuppose an unruly district.

4. A special constable for the arrest of fugitive slaves, often the most desperate and dangerous of brigands.

The French only have been right about the true sense of Galatia in Paul's day, according to Professor Ramsay. The French too have had the glory of excavating Delphi. They have brought to light the treasury of the Athenians described by Pausanias. The figure of Athena and a Doric temple covered with Attic inscriptions have come to view. Near by they found imbedded in a partition an archaic marble statue of the Pythian Apollo. It was fortunately in a fine state of preservation, the tip of the nose and toes excepted. Scholars make it a copy of some ancient *xoanon*, such as are enshrined in the earliest temples. The pose is rigid, the members stiff like an Egyptian antique. The arms fall close to the side, the face is flat and triangular, the ears large, the hair curling cylindrically over brow and shoulders. The primitive figure is the most striking contrast to the modern auditorium of 10,000 Greeks uncovered by the British school at Megalopolis and to the exquisite Juno which has rewarded the labors of the American school at the Heræum of Argos. Waldstein may be able to associate this new masterpiece of the fifth century with Polyclitus himself.

This lovely head will undoubtedly take its place in future among the most beautiful examples of the noblest age of Greek sculpture. Alone it would almost compensate America for the loss of Delphi. Have we a work of Polyclitus? Let it be remembered that a *Juno* caused him to be classed

by the ancients with Phidias in "sublimity, grandeur, and dignity." Yet we are not to forget that the new head has slight affinity with copies of Polyclitus, and marked resemblance to heads of the same period, which are indisputably of Attic origin.

Helbig and Schrader accentuate the fact that bronze occurs 279 times in the *Iliad* and only 80 times in the *Odyssey*. Why? To show that iron increased as bronze decreased in the age of the *Odyssey*. Did it? Iron is mentioned 23 times in the *Iliad*, against 25 in the *Odyssey*. The former poem names a club, a knife, an arrow-head, an adze, an axle, and gates of iron. The latter speaks of an iron adze and iron bonds. More than this, the older lays of the *Iliad* are acquainted with more iron articles than the recent, and not one of the lines has been suspected as spurious. Was then iron unknown in the time of the older lays? "The spade has proved the argument circular and false. Iron has been discovered both at Hissarlik and Mycenæ." We wanted a club. Behold a lump of iron with a large square hole in its side, which probably served as the handle of a staff. Finger rings of iron have also been dug up in the graves of the populace in the lower city. Jevons concludes that the Homeric poems must be placed in the Iron Age, but at the very beginning of that age, when the axe-blade, plough-share point, knife, and arrowhead might be of that metal, but corselets, greaves, shields, helmets, swords, hammers, and anvils, were still of bronze. His argument supplements archæologically the recent literary plea of Lang for the unity of the poem.

There is a fine flavor of the traveler and the scholar in "The Ancient Trade Route across Ethiopia," by J. Theodore Bent, in the "Geographical Journal" of August. Adulis, the modern Zula, 20 miles south of Massawa, on the Red Sea, was known to Pliny as the port for ivory and skins. Kolæ was the first place inland, according to Ptolemy. Bent identifies this with the extensive ruins on the precipitous plateau of Kohaito, three days away. Its sightliness, salubrity, and impregnability well fit it for a summer residence. The most striking feature of Kolæ is a lake, shut off by a dike whose sluice-gates are of uncemented stone and zigzag pattern; a most interesting memorial of ancient engineering skill. From Kolæ he went three and one-half days southwest to the village of Yeha, whose magnificent temple was described by the Portuguese ambassador in 1520. There he found seven Himyaritic inscriptions of the best period of Sabæan work at present being deciphered by Professor Müller, of Vienna. One of these reads, "his house Awa." This makes it clear that the Ava of Nonnosus and the Ava of the Adulitan inscription are identical with Yeha. The reason why Pliny and Ptolemy omit the name is that Awa was destroyed, and Axam took its place as capitol of Ethiopia Troglodytica during the reigns of the Ptolemies. To-day the valley is a garden. While the rest of the country is disturbed, the inhabitants secrete their cattle and grain in the caves of the adjoining mountain.

Axam is about a day and a half to the southwest. It is a shrine of sun-worship and sacrifice. We have the rude stone monument of Arabia, the Bethel or Bætyle of the Phœnicians, in all its several stages, from the uncut stone to the decorated monolith leading up by numerous stories to the emblematical home of the great Sun-god. These splendid relics of a bygone civilization are dazzling as the snows on the hill. The unhewn block, the cornered edge and notches, the seeming bands and beams around the stone, the sham door cut with lock and handle all complete, the rounded cap, topping nine stories of windows, the blazing sun, the metal plaque, are so many strata of architectural development in this Arab-Greco-Roman people absolutely without trace of contact with the Jews. The Solomonian myth is without basis.

We are pleased to learn that Dr. Winslow, of the Egypt Exploration Fund, has seen that the work of the Archaeological Survey in Egypt shall not be unrepresented at Chicago. Part I. of "*Beni Hassan*" has appeared after two years' waiting, under the name of Messrs. Griffith and Newberry. It gives a general notice of the tombs 150 miles south of Cairo, and 2500 years before Christ. To this it adds some 70 pages of detailed description of the inscribed tombs, which are four in number. A few colored plates by Mr. Blackden give a servant, a farmyard, the foreigners, and the Amu Sheikh, with boldness of design and brilliancy of execution. Mr. Newberry tells us that he found Mr. Robert Hays' collection of plans and drawings the most accurate and valuable of all his predecessors, not excepting Champollion, Rosellini, and Lepsius. From himself we gain a new conception of the titles of an Egyptian magnate, his religion, his family, and his state. It is a miniature World's Fair to see the pictures of his sandalmakers, flint-cutlers, makers of bows and arrows, coopers and carpenters, goldsmiths and potters, raisers of flax, and manufacturers of linen, the plowmen, sowers, reapers, the vintagers, fishermen, and fowlers, the kitchen with fruits, meats, bread, beer, and confectionery, the attendants on the lady at her toilet, and the musicians entertaining her guests. The Midway Plaisance is not more animated than the page in which the wrestlers approach, grapple, feint, trip, lift in air, and fling to ground their slippery and redoubtable antagonists.

All this enlivens the sepulchres which the Egyptians were wont to call eternal mansions. The belief in immortality, so domesticated on the Nile, appears now in northern Syria. The inscription of Panammu I. found on the northeastern shore of the Mediterranean near Singirli has been rendered by Halévy as follows: "When any one shall pronounce my name and recite the formula, 'May the soul of Panammu drink with thee,' then shall the soul of Panammu drink with thee. But whosoever shall neglect this funeral rite shall see his sacrifice rejected by Hadad, and the soul of Panammu shall drink with Hadad alone."

That Cyprus was *one* radiating centre of ancient civilization is universally admitted. Ohnefalsch-Richter seems in his recent work, "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer," to make it almost the only one. It may be doubted whether Harpies, Sirens, Hercules, and the Carthaginian human sacrifice all sprung from the island where he has delved for more than a decade. The conic Aphrodite of Paphos and the quadrangular one of Athens are presumably, as he suggests, akin. He notes the custom of peasant women wearing gold and silver pins, which, whether dove-shaped or not, are always called dovelets. Hence the inference that the ancient priestesses of Aphrodite wore similar pins with the head of the sacred bird. Of the Biblical sun-pillars and asheras he finds no lack. The latter were originally wooden posts. On the introduction of more elaborate representations this old feticch maintained its sanctity, and beside the idol bore the name of the god or goddess.

At Deceleia, of late, the skull of Sophocles is said to have been discovered. Controversy over this treasure-trove of archæology has been so keen as to constrain arbitration. It is Professor Virchow who will decide whether the cranium can structurally illustrate the splendid and symmetrical genius of the author of "Antigone." Classicist and anatomist will be proud to defer to such an authority.

It has long been wished that a manual of archæology might be put within reach of readers who are not specialists. The field is so vast, the fruits so rich, the record so sumptuous, the results so dazzling, that a guide is a necessity to the average student. Such a luminous and attractive story of the spade in many lands is under preparation by a writer of singular fitness for his task. This is Leonard Woolsey Bacon, scholar, traveler, educator, journalist, author, musician, minister. Dr. Bacon is known to a large circle as a magazinist of sparkling wit and a theologian of captivating breadth. The discoveries in Pompeii and Herculaneum, in Rome, in Etruria, in Olympia, Athens, Ephesus, in Troy and in Mycenæ, in Cyprus, in Phœnicia, in Nineveh, and in Chaldæa and Babylonia, in Media and Persia, in Egypt and in Palestine, could hardly find a more graphic, concise, and inspiring chronicler, or a more subtle, judicious, and philosophical commentator. The publishers who secure the manuscript we have been so fortunate as to see will add to their own pecuniary advantage a service of profound and permanent value to the American people.

Worthy even of such a pen is the find of the Syriac Gospels by the widow of the librarian of Corpus Christi college. Saint Sylvias' pilgrimage to the convent of Mt. Sinai 1500 years ago was on the pumiced parchment. But underneath were the evangelists complete, save a few chapters of St. John. We understand that Professor J. Rendel Harris regards this as the greatest treasure of Christian epigraphy. "How the Codex was found" is Mrs. Gibson's description of her twin sister's good fortune, which in a binding like a moonlit desert clasps the tale of the monkish

palimpsest and the boiling kettle and photographed leaves of Mrs. Lewis. Like the Gospel of St. Peter in 1886, the Syriac Gospels of 1892 are a new illustration of the words "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

John Phelps Taylor.

NOTES FROM ENGLAND.

A RECENT volume of theological essays, called "Faith and Criticism" (London, Sampson Low, 1893) by different writers, who all save one are Congregational ministers or professors, has not only attracted but also deserves attention, because it marks the line of theological advance, and shows the increasing freedom with which the deepest theological problems may be handled. The two most remarkable essays are those by Mr. F. H. Stead and Mr. P. T. Forsyth; and it is instructive to note that Mr. Stead was till recently, and Mr. Forsyth has for some time been, a minister in the very advanced industrial town of Leicester. Mr. Stead treats the kingdom of God as the groundwork of practical religion, and suggests that with the idea of a social commonwealth instead of the salvation of individuals as the goal in view the church must perform its mission. Mr. Stead is announced to bring out a book on the same subject, in which the kingdom of God is treated in the light of the Scriptures; in fact, the book will develop the Biblical doctrine of the kingdom of God. But undoubtedly the most remarkable, and to those who know anything of the writers the most surprising, of these essays is that by Mr. Forsyth on the Person of Christ. It has lately been asked in this Review whether the liberal school of German theologians is really Christian; if this essay represents anything like the standard thought of liberal Congregationalists on the Person of Christ, no one could doubt *their* Christianity. The question left on the reader's mind after reading this most eloquent and even passionate vindication of the Person of Christ is, "Why have I not always seen and felt this beauty and saving power in Jesus of Nazareth?"

All through this summer the London School Board has been discussing the religious education given in the Board schools of London, *i. e.*, in the public elementary schools, which in our metropolis are educating about three hundred thousand children. Some years ago the religious teaching under the London School Board was arranged on the basis of reading the Bible with merely explanatory comments; in this plan all parties agreed. But the clerical party has now won a majority on the Board, and is trying to discover, and if possible enforce, a scheme by which the clerics can teach their own tenets in these schools. This party has been backed up and urged on by vehement articles in the "Times," which would be startling if one could forget the recent

changes of that paper, and could only remember that up to twenty years ago the "Times" was in favor of religious liberty and toleration. Of late years it has been observed that any person who would write to the "Times" with some grievance against, or abuse of, Nonconformists, was sure to have his letter printed in a prominent position in the paper. In pleasant contrast to the religious bigotry which can paralyze our educational progress, the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury at a recent conference should be quoted, as they effectively dispose of the constant slander of the clergy that no real religious education can be given in our Board schools: "I should not be doing justice to many Board schools which I know, if I did not say that there are many Board schools in which the religious education given is all that can be desired; it is scriptural, thorough, and truly inspired."

But in spite of generous admissions by the higher type of men in the churches, the bitterness of ecclesiastical divisions continues seemingly unabated; there are always enough of the "lewd fellows of the baser sort" in the richest Church of Christendom, the Church of England, to remind us that church reunion is a vision of the far future. The worst is that every conceivable occasion is laid hold of to abuse the opposite side. A most disastrous failure of the Liberator Building Society, in which many Nonconformists had invested their whole savings, and which was ruined by the fraud and trickery of one man, a hypocritical Dissenter, has brought untold suffering on many families; the Bishop of St. Asaph makes this the occasion to insinuate that all Nonconformists are in a measure tainted with the vice of one or two rascally financiers. Again, the Congregationalists have united the other free churches to join in celebrating the tercentenary of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry, the martyrs who in 1593 paid for their protest against the tyranny of Elizabeth Tudor and Archbishop Whitgift with their lives. Considering that we all join in singing "Britons never shall be slaves," and that our political freedom has grown from the Puritan struggle against the Tudor and Stuart dynasties in alliance with the Church of England, it might have been graceful, not to say fair and just, that the Nonconformists should have celebrated the death of those who were the seed of their churches and the founders of British freedom without interference or insult. Not so, however. The organs of the Church, from the light raillery of the "Church Times" to the heavy criticism of the "Church Quarterly Review," have directed a bitter fusillade against the celebration of this tercentenary, against the preaching of sermons in connection with it, against the large open-air demonstration held in Hyde Park close to the spot on which the martyrs actually suffered, against the accounts published by eminent scholars upon the lives and work of these men, and even against the good report and sincerity of these martyr reformers.

The envenomed tone of this attack of churchmen on Nonconformists has been quite equaled by the truculent manner in which Canon Farrar

has been attacking his fellow-churchmen of the High Church party, whom he belabors for going in the face of the traditional Protestantism of the Church and the nation, and by the spirited defense in which Canon Knox Little has taken up the challenge. The carnal man no doubt enjoys a fight, and applauds all the more as the attack and retaliation are the more valiant and reckless; it is a question, however, whether the propensities of the carnal man ought to have these likings satisfied by his spiritual teachers and pastors. In any case, the serious matter remains, that if the Church of England continues to advance the same extreme sacerdotal claims and to assimilate its doctrine and its ritual to that of the Roman Catholic Church, which it will certainly do if the Church remains established and endowed, and if the Roman Catholic policy, which rules at present, of making large concessions to gain new allies, continues under the next few Popes, it will not only be possible, but the natural course of things, that the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church will again become one communion. Of course, this is what the High Church party quite avowedly desire; but it is what would have grave political and religious consequences. And that this is by no means impossible as the outcome may be seen by quoting the case of a catechism lately published and emanating from the clergy of St. Peter's, London Docks, one of the best known of London churches. This catechism is admitted to be based on a similar Roman Catholic publication. It contains teachings such as the following: that there are seven Christian sacraments, ordained by Christ himself, which include the ordination of priests and extreme unction, that for sins committed after baptism there is no forgiveness save by the sacrament of penance and the sacrifice of the mass, and that consulting fortune-tellers and attending dissenting churches are equally idolatrous. It is sad that such doctrines should pass as the teaching of "the Protestant Church of England as by law established;" it is dishonesty, when they are taught by men who profess allegiance to the spirit of "The Thirty-nine Articles." But increased aggression on the part of the catholicizing party was only to be expected after their recent victory in the Bishop of Lincoln's case.

Our English-speaking fellow-Protestants in America and the British colonies cannot easily realize the serious position in England. The majority of the Bishops favor the extremists of this party; the House of Lords is in its hands, and has recently given several notable instances of its power and readiness to assist the priests at the expense of the people; the landlords and capitalists of the country, where not already in active sympathy with it, are being gradually drawn more and more in that direction, because that seems the best way to damage the popular liberalizing and democratic movements in church and state. All that privilege, fashion, and wealth can do for the Catholic reaction is being, and will be, done. Will the forces of progressive liberalism in theology and thought, and of the democratic popular movement in society and the state enter

into an alliance, which must be irresistible? That is the question of the future of Protestantism in England.

Various events have recently been conducing to a consideration of the position of the British royal family, its place and work in the nation. A year ago Mr. Labouchere was excluded from the ministry formed by Mr. Gladstone on the direct interposition of the Queen, and men asked, "Is this constitutional?" The marriage of the only surviving son of the Prince of Wales a few months ago to a princess who is English born and bred, though of course not of English blood, was celebrated amid great public display and sympathy, and suggested to the thoughtful the question, "What are we really rejoicing about?" The death of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and the succession of the Queen's second son to the position of a reigning duke of the German empire, which took place only a few weeks ago, served to prompt the question, "Are our royal family really British or German?" Lastly, by a piece of court favoritism, the Queen's third son, the Duke of Connaught, has just been raised to the most important command (out of India) in the British army, the Generalship at Aldershot; this post requires especially at the present time the greatest experience, ability, and reforming strength, which the Duke cannot be pretended to possess, and which were pre-eminent in Lord Roberts, the late commander of our forces in India, who had actually applied for the post; and men have asked, "What is the real work of our Royal Family?" The reply to these questions may be generally given by saying that though our country is on the whole democratic in feeling and our government popular, yet the privileges and powers of the Crown are still considerable and frequently exerted in a way counter to popular feeling, and though the easy-going upper classes may hold to the old order of things, yet it is inconceivable that both the present privileges and practice of the royal family will remain as they are at present, if the principles of popular government continue to grow in strength.

There is no doubt that the royal family hold a very strong position compared to the position held by most of the royal houses of Europe. They stand as the symbol of the unity of an empire on which the sun never sets. Whatever scandals, anomalies, and injustices may remain connected with our royal family, they are quite insignificant compared with those of the House of Lords and the Established Church. Leveling politicians and advanced social reformers have no call to turn their hands against royalty, so long as far graver obstacles block the way. Given, therefore, a royal family that is morally respectable and is gifted with tact and discretion, and considering the conservative instincts of the nation and never revolutionary progress of British politics, the British royal family hold a very firm position.

In this connection it must be remembered that since the Queen came to the throne, the royal family has got a new and stronger hold on the

nation. Queen Victoria succeeded to the crown as a young girl of eighteen; the three previous monarchs had been known, George III. as an obstinate idiot, George IV. as a vicious libertine, and William IV. as a feeble character of shady morality. From first to last the court of Victoria has been free from a suspicion of sexual vice. Though many of her ministers and advisers, from Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Palmerston, down to some of her present privy councillors, have been far from blameless in this respect, so persistent has the Queen been in giving her trust and the places around her to men and women of pure life, that it is probably true that she has done an enormous service to her subjects everywhere by having imparted a higher tone to society and in making those in court circles, and those who either belong to the aristocracy or wish to be considered as belonging to it, at least outwardly respectful to purity of living. A virtue of this kind makes just that unique service which a sovereign can render in a constitutional country like ours; the Queen has rendered it to her people, and has thus conduced more to the purifying of our national life in this one way than all the clergy and ministers of religion, who are generally afraid to refer to the most insidious of social evils.

This regard for personal purity in the Queen has been made the more effective for good among the nation by the most obvious of the Queen's other good qualities, her strong family affection and her constant interest in her many children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. This virtue, appealing to all classes, has made her popular with British mothers and wives, and has helped her influence for purity by making it part of a sort of family ideal. Some speak of our Queen and royal family as if they were models not only of virtue, but of genius also; but it is just because they are neither that they seem so national, are so popular, and exert their present strong influence. As a matter of fact, the Queen and her family have limitations and even faults. The Queen is known as being extremely fond of money, as having amassed an enormous fortune, and so forth; at the time of the Crimean War she commanded Sir Robert Peel to say that she would voluntarily pay her share of the income tax, then just imposed, but she has never paid a penny of taxation in her life; she has made friends of adventurers like the Empress Eugénie of the French, her connection with whom has largely conduced to one of the most unfortunate factors of present European politics, the extreme jealousy felt by France for every movement made by England anywhere on the face of the globe; she has for the last thirty years secluded herself from her people, — all which may be true, as our republican friends tell us. Still, the great fact remains that Queen Victoria has maintained a character for purity, which no British monarch for many generations before her possessed, and has kept the court pure from vice in a time of great wealth and luxury, and for a period and in a measure quite unattained in the history of any court in any country.

before. Indirectly the Queen has influenced her people in a most strong and real way to set more respect upon purity of life.

Joseph King.

HAMPSTEAD, LONDON.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE WITNESS TO IMMORTALITY. By GEORGE A. GORDON, D. D., Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. Pp. xi, 310. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1893.

The author makes a very modest claim for this book, his first venture in authorship, and more than justifies his claim. Purporting to be an interpretation of other men's thoughts on immortality, "The Witness to Immortality" is a distinct and valuable contribution to the literature of this transcendent theme. It is full of lucid exposition and generous appreciation of great writers in the past, but it also brings to the reader much of the author's own constructive thinking. It is not a treatise, and consequently lacks somewhat in the precision and detail of treatment which should characterize a treatise, but it throbs with an energy of argument and glows with a warmth of spiritual feeling that make it more serviceable to the general reader than any formal treatise.

For the most part the book was spoken before it was printed, and exhibits, therefore, a certain directness and heat; but the style is almost entirely free from the homiletical manner; at least the homiletical manner is so well subdued to the demands of literary expression that only hypercriticism will discover in it a serious fault. Whatever the book may lose from its lack of the impersonal and dispassionate tone of the treatise, it more than makes up in force and enthusiasm. Dr. Gordon has written from his heart as well as his head. His book is iridescent with religious sentiment as well as luminous with earnest and profound thought. It is safe to affirm that it will be a peculiarly helpful book to serious minds that are perplexed over the great question, "If a man die shall he live again?" The author frankly confesses, at the outset, that his mental attitude is that of a believer in immortality. To the discussion of his theme he brings not only force of intellect, disciplined by long and patient study, but also clearness of moral perception and depth of religious conviction.

The book comprises, besides a brief preface, seven chapters. In the first chapter the author defines his position and his method. He admits the impossibility of proving immortality, in a sense that would satisfy the demands of science, because it is future, but coördinates it in this respect with all other future events. He has not, perhaps, taken sufficient account of the fact that immortality belongs to a plane where as yet science has no footing. He posits first of all the desirableness of life.

Life in itself is a good, or there is little, if any, basis on which to argue its perpetuity.

Various methods of approach are then defined.

There is (1) *the scientific*. Scientific thought gives three answers to the question of the future life. The first is that it is impossible. The second is that there is no evidence either way. The third is the answer of evolution, which affords a strong presumption in favor of immortality. It may be said in passing that though Dr. Gordon does scarcely more than suggest the implications of evolution on this theme, he evidently is conscious that there is promise of a very strong argument for immortality from the evolutionary interpretation of human life. That, however, is something yet to be adequately worked out.

There is (2) the method of Psychology, the main consideration of which is the persistence of selfhood through all changes.

There is (3) the method of Philosophy. In this account is taken of "the essentialness of man to the universe in its highest character."

There is (4) the method of Theology. "If God is the premise, immortality must be the conclusion."

Finally (5), there is the method of Literature. This the author adopts as the sum of all other methods. In the expression of the best and deepest in human thought, feeling, and faith he finds multiform and cogent argument for the deathlessness of the human spirit.

Chapter second considers the Hebrew Prophets as the representatives and advocates of a lofty and august moralism. In the prophetic teaching, which is not confined to the prophets but appears also in the Psalms, the author discovers three great structural ideas. These are: (1) The righteous character and government of God; (2) the maladjustment in this world of character and circumstances; and (3) the principle of vicarious suffering—the strong and the just making cost and enduring pain for the sake of the weak and the unjust.

In chapter third the author sympathetically unfolds the testimony of the Poets, taking as representatives Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Emerson, Browning, and Tennyson. This he does, of necessity, in a brief and suggestive way, the limits of his space forbidding anything like exhaustive treatment.

Chapter fourth is devoted to the witness of the Philosophers. As compared with the poets, the order of the philosophers who are chosen as representatives is reversed. This reversal of order suggests a certain cleverness on the part of the author, for the effect is one of cumulative force in each case. Of the poets the latest speaks with clearest voice on immortality, while of the philosophers the most impressive testimony, at least to the average intelligence, comes from the earliest. The philosophers chosen are the German Lotze, the Scotchman Ferrier, the German Kant, the Englishmen Butler and Berkeley, and the Greeks Origen and Plato,—the last especially as the reporter and interpreter of Socrates.

While Dr. Gordon makes a strong showing in favor of his main contention from these great thinkers and great men, the limits of his space and the limitations of his method prevent him from making the strongest possible case.

Chapters five and six set forth the testimony of St. Paul and of Jesus Christ. In the discussion here emphasis is justly put on the significance of that transcendent fact, the resurrection of Jesus. In each of these chapters the author eminently reveals both the strength and the fervor of his religious understanding and sympathy.

In conclusion, chapter seven presents the grounds of faith to-day. In this chapter there is no falling off in the elements of power that characterize the preceding discussion, yet one feels that here the discussion is not quite adequate to the title. With a noble eloquence the author maintains that in taking immortality, as we must, on trust, we commit ourselves to the highest in the soul, the highest in human society, the highest in history, and the highest in the universe. There is a lack of perfectly clear discrimination between the highest in human society and the highest in history, but the whole chapter is a noble plea for faith as reasonable and safe. There is not in it, however, a succinct and complete statement of all the rational and moral grounds for believing in immortality which are available to-day for the believer.

No one, and least of all Dr. Gordon, will feel that the last word or the best possible word at the present time has been spoken on this profound and supremely important theme, but, at the same time, no one can read this strong and quickening book without receiving an uplift to mind and heart and a fresh endowment of energy to meet the grave problems and the solemn experiences of life and death.

The style is marred by occasional slight defects, but it is affluent with beauty and rich with the distillations of patient study and wide intercourse with the higher masters of philosophy and literature.

The material form of the book is worthy of the well-known taste and skill of the publishers.

Philip S. Moxom.

BOSTON.

THE DISTINCTIVE MESSAGES OF THE OLD RELIGIONS. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, M. A., D. D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Parish of St. Bernard's, Edinburgh. Pp. vii, 342. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1892.

This is full of profound apprehensions, and may fairly be said in many points to go deeper than the deepest previous researches.

The author holds Fetichism to be the expression, not of a low religious state, but the reverse. Primitive man, finding himself changeable, coming from oblivion, and apparently sinking into it, seeks, not in the changing heavens, but in the seemingly unchanging stone or stock, for an

embodiment of the eternal Cause. Then, finding, by the constant vicissitudes from dreaming to waking consciousness, that the human spirit remains unchanged, he comes to view this as nearer Divinity, and passes over to the worship of ancestors, now purified and exalted by death. Then, finding unembodied spirit too shadowy, he embodies it in images. But these do not satisfy, and he now turns to the great forces and forms of nature, which, through himself, he has learned to recognize as identical in diversity. He does not worship *many* gods, but only one at a time (Henotheism), changing gods as a child his toys, but absorbed in each one for the time, and in each one the longer as he finds a fuller and deeper satisfaction in it, until at last out of Henotheism rises Monotheism. Polytheism the author denies to be possible. Yet then how could men have sworn by the Twelve Gods? Here is plurality recognized, and each attribute personalized.

The common principle of all religions Dr. Matheson finds in Incarnation. Absolute agnosticism would be absolute atheism. Only that in the Godhead can we reverentially love which is one with ourselves. Man is made in the image of God is the condition of the possibility of religion. Poetry, therefore, being incarnation, is so closely allied to religion. There is no need to tell the Hindu that God is made flesh; he believes it already. Only compare Christ with Vishnu in their moral attributes, and ask him to choose. Ethical development, therefore, should be fundamental in missionary preaching.

What message have the various great religions? They must have lived by their truth, not by their falsehood. China's great note, in her two native religions, is regressiveness. Lay off all later sophistications and go back to the deep primal family relations, — nay, says Taoism, to the unconscious activity of the plant! How like Christ's message: Become like the simple child, and more, like the carelessly trustful birds, nay, like the unconsciously receiving lilies! How does it differ? In this: China goes back to emptiness and stays there; Christ empties us of solicitude to fill us with the energies of blissful life. Therefore China has stiffened into immobility and the gospel is going on to conquer the world.

India has every possible variety of life and religion, from the most dreamy to the most practical; how then can she have one message? The one message is *human life*. "The message of India is the proclamation of the pilgrim's progress — the earliest announcement of the stages of that journey which has since been traversed by myriads of souls." The first stage is youthful hope, pulsating in the Vedas. The world of heaven and earth alike seems conquerable by the energies of man. The gods themselves are hardly his superiors. Gradually the world becomes immense and immensely difficult. This early life of possessing all things visible is found an illusion. Then he looks to things invisible. Wearied of this, he at last turns within, to Humanity. He now aims at losing individual burdens by entering into the life of the race.

The author shows an interesting parallelism between the order of creation in Genesis and the order of recognition in the Vedas, passing through light, the firmament, vegetation, the rule of heaven over earth, animal life, Man. All is reverent, and all is hopeful. It is the message of untroubled childhood.

The next scene is the sense of entire bondage, not as Buckle shallowly says, because of the landscape; a landscape may foster gloom, but cannot create it. We give to nature much more than we receive. The gloom of India is a recoil from exaggerated individualistic hopefulness. Finding that this is an illusion, the first result is despair. Then comes an intense desire to detach the soul from this outer world. Into this India throws more energy than is in all the utilitarian effort of the West. Emancipation from the dream of the world — here we have the Upanishads. If this is a dream, who is the Dreamer? The answer of the Upanishads is — God Almighty. Unbroken sleep, like an unreflected fire, is Brahm; broken, dreaming sleep, like a fire reflected by many mirrors, is Vishnu; the sleep returning to unity, like the fire after the mirrors are withdrawn, is Siva. I differ from Brahm only as the image from the central fire. The dream is lost by ceasing to cling to it. Therefore the priest, representing detachment, stands highest, the classes most immersed in labor and care, lowest.

This absolute contempt of time feeds asceticism and — immorality. Conscience, ethical values, have no place in it. Buddhism says: no proud asceticism. The burden of illusiveness is common, let it be borne in common. Buddhism is religious democracy. It inherits Brahmanistic pessimism, but endeavors to turn it into optimism, though unsuccessfully, by bringing in love and brotherhood, if only the brotherhood of despair. It has pity, infinite, but no hope. And even its pity is at bottom cherished as a means of individualistic release.

Persia abhors the thought that both good and evil are illusion. She maintains that each is an intense reality. If, as even Brahmanism allows, there is a somewhat having power to disturb the untroubled rest of the Godhead, it must be without himself. Hence dualism, a hostile power, becoming ultimately a hostile god. Is God imperfectly good, or imperfectly powerful? Zoroaster chose the latter alternative, and the whole aim of Zoroastrianism is to help Ahuramazda to bring his power to an equality with his goodness. Evil is not to be excused, or explained, but to be utterly overcome. Hence the tremendous Puritan energy of Mazdism, combined with an Israelitish joy in every healthy element of life. Will, freedom, history, begin here. But atonement Parsism does not know, and the bright belief that even evil works to good is its abhorrence. It was great but not final.

Greece neither, with China, reverts to the past, nor, with India, strains forward to the invisible, nor, with Persia, is concerned to eliminate evil from good, but sets herself to glorify things as they are. Greece, an athlete through and through, rejoiced in that present struggle, which Parsism made so intense just because it hated the necessity for it. Greece,

in Hephaistos, divinized even the opposite of that beauty which it loved, showing here an unconscious affinity with the gospel. Greece, like the gospel, and like science, teaches that in the present hour and in the present objects lies hid the germ of all possible greatness and glory.

Rome made the earliest attempt at religious *union* — not uniformity, nor originality, but unity. She persecuted Christianity only because it lay athwart her plan and meant to realize it very differently. Rome, like Judæa, had a golden age in the past, and in the future, a deep moral seriousness, a deep reverence for the family, and a still deeper for Law. Yet the Lawgiver of Israel is too sublime and spiritual for her. He ultimately led Israel into the sphere of eternity; she wants to keep her citizens entirely within the sphere of time. More prosaic than Greece, she follows like her a temporal ideal, and accepts her gods, though Romanized into heaviness. The self-sacrifice of the East is found in Rome, and even, in the notion of evil geniuses and in the world-subduing instinct, somewhat of Parsism.

Why did Rome fail in her aspiration for an evangelical alliance? Because she did not identify the state with the church, but the church with the state. She included the civilly strong, but excluded the civilly weak, who may be spiritually strong. She worshiped man as the king, Christianity honors him no less as the priest and the prophet. The author does not say, what goes deeper still, Rome, living only for time, knew nothing of human powers waiting to be developed in eternity.

In like manner the author deals with the Teuton, and Egypt. The final consummation, through Judaism, in Christianity, is on more familiar lines. The whole book is profound but very intelligible, of course not wholly unaffected by the vice of schematizing, but for the most part filling up its schemes with solid fullness.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

DAS LEBEN NACH DEM TODE. Nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel und des Judenthums einschliesslich des Volksglaubens im Zeitalter Christi. Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung von FRIEDRICH SCHWALLY. Pp. viii, 204. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung. 1892.

Within the past few years more than one Oriental eschatology has been made the subject of special discussion. Jeremias¹ has investigated that of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian religion, Brandt² that of the Mandæans. In each of these cases, the problem was a comparatively simple one. Schwally, in attempting a similar work for the religious history of Israel from the earliest times down to the Christian era, has set himself

¹ Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode. Leipzig, 1887.

² Das Schicksal der Seele nach mandäischen und persischen Vorstellungen. Jahrb. für prot. Theol., 1892.

a more difficult task. His purpose is not so much to explain Jewish eschatology at all points as to show its development out of the superstitions and customs of Semitic heathendom. Whoever reads the book will be convinced, I think, that the author has done wisely in confining the discussion, so far as practicable, to the Old Testament and the subsequent Jewish literature. Illustration from other branches of the Semitic race is of course desirable when it is to be had, which is only seldom the case. As for the post-canonical Jewish literature, there could be no excuse for excluding it from the present investigation.

According to the purpose of the book already indicated, the subject matter is treated in three main divisions: (1) the ancient belief; (2) decline or modification of the old ideas under the influence of conceptions belonging to the religion of Yahwè; (3) the new eschatology of the time of the Maccabees and the beginning of the Christian era. The working-out of the first part presents especial difficulties, as must be evident. The Old Testament writers speak always from the standpoint of the religion of Yahwè, and nothing is further from their intention than to give a history of past customs or beliefs, even when such were well known to them. The tendency is generally in the opposite direction. Schwally's investigations lead to the conclusion that *ancestor-worship* played a foremost part in the old Semitic religion. In this fact is to be found the explanation of many peculiar usages which have left their traces in the Old Testament, and of numerous allusions which are otherwise not easily understood. Hence, also, the important place in the Hebrew ritual occupied by rites connected with death and burial. In fact, the most characteristic and essential part of the primitive heathendom would be its eschatology, for there ancestor-worship would naturally find its culminating point. Evidently much of the material for the proposed reconstruction must be taken from the allusions and peculiar usages above mentioned. The task will therefore be largely one of dexterously combining scattered fragments; a kind of work that affords exceptional opportunity for hearing the grass grow, but may yield valuable results if properly conducted. It occasionally happens that a writer lets fall some expression which is found to throw an unexpected gleam of light upon what could otherwise have been only the subject of dim conjecture; or resurrects for a moment some half-forgotten custom, as in Deut. xxvi. 14. For a good example of ingenious combination and interesting results—which the reader will perhaps do well to think twice before accepting—one may refer to the interpretation of *elôhîm* in Ex. xxi. 6 as "ancestor-image" (p. 37 ff.), and the explanation proposed in the same connection for *neqēbhā*.

Since every part of the Old Testament presupposes the worship of the "God of Israel," and this worship claimed from the very first to stand alone and to brook no rivals, it might seem to be of little use to try to observe the process of supplanting, or to mark the successive steps by which the original Semitic animism was replaced by the religion of the

Hebrews. But such ancient and deep-rooted elements as the rites connected with death and burial, mourning for the departed, and so on, were very tenacious of life. It is a significant fact, to which attention has been more than once called, that some of these same rites have left their traces — no longer understood, to be sure — in Jewish customs down to our own day. The inherited notions concerning the condition of soul and body after death, while also deep-rooted, were far more readily modified than the concrete observances; and modification was inevitable and rapid so soon as the children of Israel began to understand the true significance of the words "The Lord our God is one Lord." There was, then, a gradual but thorough remodeling of the old eschatology. The process must be in the main a matter of conjecture; still, the author has not despaired of tracing, here and there, the progress of disintegration and rebuilding, and whoever follows him in his investigations here will be more than repaid. One and another of the laws and rites of post-exilic Israel find their explanation in their relation to the now detested ancestor-worship. In the case of the laws concerning "cleanness and uncleanness" this is strikingly shown. Here Schwally is following out lines of conjecture already initiated by Stade, W. R. Smith, and others.

As chief among the ideas which came in to bring about the remodeling the author names: the thought of Yahwè as creator; a deeper conception of sin, and the new estimate of life thus introduced; the doctrine of individual recompense; finally, the Messianic hope. It was the extraordinary influence of this last-named idea that tended especially to develop what the author terms "*die neue Glaube*," in the time of the Maccabees and the years that followed, up to the beginning of the Christian era. The doctrine of individual recompense, also, which had been for a long time gaining ground, was now combined with the Messianic hope. Thorough and excellent use is made here of the apocalyptic literature, and the strongly marked character of the subsequent eschatology, especially in the development of the belief in a resurrection of the dead, is clearly brought out. The section treating of the Pharisees and Sadducees in the time of Christ (pp. 162-179) will be found interesting in connection with what has preceded, though it contains nothing essentially new.

In general, the value of the book lies not so much in the contribution of what is new as in the consistent arrangement and treatment of the material. There is need at the present time of special investigations such as this, and it is seldom that one meets with a monograph more sound in method and more thorough in the working-out than the one before us.

Charles C. Torrey.

A MANUAL OF ETHICS, designed for the Use of Students. By JOHN S. MACKENZIE, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 339. London: W. B. Clive & Co. 1893.

It is not too much to say that Mr. Mackenzie has written one of the best manuals of ethics in the English language, and for the student's use it is superior to anything that England has produced for a generation. The qualities which entitle it to this praise are careful analysis, clear outlines, and accurate definitions. Mr. Muirhead's little volume was adapted to University Extension work and can only meet such wants. But the present book is precisely the thing wanted for more technical study, at least in respect of method, and we doubt not that it will receive most favorable recognition. Such faults as may be charged to it do not interfere seriously with its merits as a text-book. They are rather such as a person of different views from Mr. Mackenzie might find in it. The main features of the method are unimpeachable, and these commend it to clear thinkers, whatever may be thought of its contents.

Aside from its adaptation to the teacher's method, which may be useful without regard to acceptance of its theories, the volume has decided merits in its contents. A marked feature of it is the vein of unusual moral earnestness as compared with the scientific treatment generally given the subject by those who avoid all study of its relation to religion. The humanitarian and moral spirit of the book is on a par with that of the author's previous volume on "Social Philosophy," and might even be called religious, if the author of "Ecce Homo" is entitled to respect in his definition of religion as "morality tinged with emotion." For this is perhaps a characteristic of the present work. Frequent literary allusions help to give it this character by drawing thus upon the spiritual experience of those who are interested in something more than pure science. Reflecting this spirit, the chapter on the relation of ethics to religion is an interesting one, though not savoring of theological views. Its peculiarity is the doctrine that religion is akin to art, which makes it unusually comprehensive and a little vague, though probably association with the architectural institutions of Europe with their sacred art might well give rise to this view. Besides, Mr. Mackenzie's artistic sympathies might incline him in the same direction. A purely logical and scientific mind, however, would pause before such a conception of religion, and either question the author's view that it is a necessity or maintain that it has quite as close an affinity with truth.

There are a few minor criticisms which ought to be made. A rather interesting but not very important distinction is drawn between "intention" and "motive." Mill did the same, but we could never see that the theory of ethics was affected by it, though some aspects of responsibility might be. The most unsatisfactory part of the volume is the discussion on the freedom of the will, though more is said upon it than some writers deign to say. This is a problem that deserves more attention than it generally receives, for the reason that so many who still maintain a sys-

tem of ethics do not observe the difficulties proposed by an unqualified adhesion to determinism. We are glad, however, that one author at least has vindicated Kant's formula from the charge of being too formal or abstract. Most critics fail to observe more than Kant's first statement of it, and then neglect the qualifications he intended and even specified for it. Mr. Mackenzie, however, has done much in a very limited space to correct this misapprehension.

James H. Hyslop.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

FOUNDERS OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM. Biographical, descriptive, and critical studies. By T. K. CHEYNE, M. A., D. D., Oxford. Pp. ix, 372. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893.

We can think of no other person so well qualified as the veteran critic of Oxford to introduce the English-speaking public to the personality of those founders of the new and much misunderstood, much maligned science of historical and literary criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures. If, moved by some such curiosity as impels the fascinated bird to its doom in the serpent's jaws, any of those that hold the higher critics in fear and abhorrence should venture to look within these pages to see what manner of monstrous form their modern antichrist may wear, they will doubtless be surprised to learn what gentleness, humility, and simplicity of Christian faith and spirit could characterize a critic such as Kuenen, and what services in defense of the faith were rendered by men who are popularly supposed, if not to wear actual horns and hoofs, at least to be imbued with a Satanic malignity and hatred of the Bible. Professor Cheyne's book materializes these grewsome shapes into very real, very devoted and painstaking scholars, usually into men of a very devout, and always a truth-loving spirit.

In addition to the character sketches of the great critics of the past, Professor Cheyne reviews the life and work of those of the present generation, with most of whom he has personal acquaintance. The last three chapters are devoted to his eminent and deservedly esteemed colleague, Professor S. R. Driver, and constitute a perhaps disproportionately large part of the book. After repeated tributes to Professor Driver as a man and a scholar, Professor Cheyne takes up and reviews in detail Driver's recent "Introduction," acknowledging its incomparable value to English students, but criticising the author's method as failing to distinguish between "educational" and "scientific" compromise. The former is a concession to the learner, whereby false or improbable views are permitted to stand temporarily in order that progress may be made easy. The latter consists in an apparent yielding of one's own judgment, based upon evidence, to the mere pressure of popular prejudice. Professor Cheyne points out numerous concessions in the Introduction, which in his view are of the latter class, and which accordingly will have to be

revoked later at great cost to the advocates of pure science rightly so called.

The book has a somewhat desultory form, which is perhaps inseparable from its plan and material, which includes various lectures and review articles, and the reader closes the volume with the impression that after all the author's main object was to counteract certain false tendencies he feared would be imparted to the course of English criticism by seemingly unwarranted concessions to prejudice in Driver's "Introduction." But spite of the sense of disproportion which may perhaps affect the judgment of the æsthetic critic of book-making, the critical valuation of authors will be most helpful to the student of Biblical science, and the information given is such as is nowhere else obtainable. The grievous necessity which Professor Cheyne is under of sparing his weakened sight seems to have made no difference with his encyclopædic knowledge of every publication, however obscure, in his own department, and certainly does not affect the keenness of his spiritual vision. The student of Biblical literature will certainly be grateful for this opportunity of being taken by the veteran critic around his library shelves, and introduced to one author after another; nor will he find least pleasure in winding up with a walk over to Professor Driver's study, and a friendly argument between the colleagues as to the merits of the latest production of the younger.

B. W. Bacon.

OSWEGO, N. Y.

AIDS TO THE DEVOUT STUDY OF CRITICISM. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A., D. D. Pp. viii, 397. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The title of this volume indicates its purpose, namely, to show how the results of criticism may serve for edification. The book is made up of two parts: I. The David Narratives; II. The Book of Psalms.

In Part I. the author states his theory of the origin of the Books of Samuel, then discusses the character of David and the story of David and Goliath. The analysis of this book, which we cannot doubt to have been a compilation, inevitably attends this discussion. The results of Kautzsch are given, apparently with approval. According to this the two books of Samuel contain seven elements representing seven or perhaps six writers dating from the reign of Solomon to the exile, beside an editor, and quite a margin to which the sign "?" is prefixed. A discussion of the "doublets" immediately follows, of which eleven are named. "These accounts may either be variants of the same tradition, or may represent almost or entirely different views of what actually occurred."

The character of David is discussed at length. The author seems to have felt that the "conventional solution of difficulties" as regards the character of David ministers to infidelity. Apparently this solution is the method of "representing David as a kind of supernatural being, who

neither morally nor intellectually was governed by the same laws as ourselves, or at any rate as a medley of irreconcilable elements." Since there has been a tendency to idealize David, the truth is here sought. The religious conditions of David's early life are sketched, then his character. He is described as courageous, yet using crooked craft, as cruel, with religious ideas unrefined, ignorant of spiritual prayer and with low views of sacrifice. Can he be revered? He was a man to win affection and devotion, a man after God's heart (that is, mind or purpose), suitable to be ruler over his people. He showed "patriotism, public spirit, respect for national laws and institutions, and punctuality in the administration of justice." He was magnanimous and had "regard for life, at any rate for Israelitish life."

The real slayer of Goliath is believed to have been Elhanan (2 Sam. xxi. 19); consequently, the narrative in 1 Sam. xvii. is not historical. The writer's delineation of this picture is finely drawn, the resources of biblical archæology are freely used, and a life-like picture is given, at the close of which the spiritual uses of the narrative are illustrated.

Part II. begins with an exposition of the critical study of the Psalter. Of course the positions of the Bampton Lectures on "The Origin of the Psalter" are the foundation of this chapter. A more interesting chapter is that on the Inspiration of the Psalmists. The author reverts to a suggestion made by him some years since that "one of the church's gains from the so-called 'higher criticism' would be a view of the inspiration of the Scriptures which was at once broader and deeper and more true to facts." Incidentally in this chapter is some discussion of the inspiration of Pindar, Æschylus, Euripides, Vasishtha, and Zarathustra, such as the reader of the Bampton Lectures finds not unfamiliar. The remainder of the volume is chiefly occupied with expository lectures on seventeen of the psalms, the most attention being given to the fifty-first. This is denied to be David's, because the spiritual elevation was beyond David, who "could not have had these ideas;" "the ideas which lie at the root of the psalm are those of the books of Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah;" it belongs to a period when the prevailing conception of Israel was not only of a "people but a church;" "it is misplaced moderation to say that any part of this psalm requires or even favors an individualizing reference."

This last reason gives the key to the use of criticism in the exposition of the psalms which are expounded. The "I of the Psalter" is the Jewish Church-nation.

The impression made by this volume is that of *obiter dicta* rather than of sustained work like the Bampton Lectures. In judging the merits of the volume one ought to look at the standpoint and general method. Many rightly object to the quiet assumption that the term "criticism" belongs solely or preëminently to those who hold the critical views of the volume in hand. On page 393 he recognizes other possibilities. Until "criticism" lays aside the gown of the advocate and assumes the robe of the

judge there is little hope of finding a working hypothesis of either the Old Testament records or religion.

In the discussion of the records may not the editor or R(edactor) be a little overworked? Textual criticism of the New Testament has shown beyond a peradventure that "glosses" are a frequent phenomenon in the transmission of texts. They vary in length from single words to a passage as lengthy as John vii. 53-viii. 11. Would it not be scientific to suggest that 1 Sam. xvi. 1-13 might be a gloss rather than to attribute it to "the imaginative editor" (p. 96)?

It has been supposed that when a writer gives the local features of an event with such accuracy that after three thousand years they are recognized, the narrative has the strongest presumptive evidence of its truth. The transformation of 1 Sam. xvii. from history to legend is confounding; and suggests the question whether there be any objective canons of literary criticism. This volume insists upon the spiritual value of the narrative, whether historical or ideal. Is this not a Hegelian element with which sober criticism may well dispense? It seems that the Old Testament in its measure has a right to the remark of Professor Bruce concerning the history of Christ: "But it is not a matter of indifference whether it be truth or fiction. Its value, both as an instrument of criticism and as an aid to godly living depends upon the measure of its historicity." The treatment of the narrative in this volume leads one to feel as if the days of allegorical interpretation were returning.

All archæological discovery is showing that the roots of so-called ancient civilization strike deep into a past more remote from it than it is from us. Religious thought and aspiration and the ethical sense appear centuries before David. The study of the Christian church shows periods of great progress, also great decadence when on the surface almost everything seems lost. It also shows that the Reformation was no sudden fruitage, rather it was the emergence into activity of the forces of all the centuries, especially of those which are sometimes called the "Dark Ages." Do the analogies justify us in thinking that the religious development from Abraham to Amos held no place for a David with conceptions of spiritual prayer? Such historical criticism as this is certainly perplexing. It should be remembered that the very words ascribed to David do not necessarily carry the content of meaning which they now do to us. Let one trace the development of the word *salvation* in the Old Testament and note the progress in thought from the physical to the spiritual.

The discussion of the inspiration of the Psalms shows the author apparently struggling against a conception of inspiration from which one may be wholly free without any indebtedness to that type of higher criticism represented by him. One may recognize the work of the Spirit of God in all ages and nations, leading as He will, while in the Old Testament is recorded his working as not elsewhere through agents in the preparatory stages of an organic unit, his redemptive revelation culminating in and completed by Jesus Christ. As regards this doctrine higher criticism

furnishes materials; it is a servant in the quarry. Thus inspiration in the Bible is merely a means to an end, and the end is the redemptive revelation. The form or manner of the inspiration must vary with the service to be rendered to the redemptive revelation; it was doubtless as flexible in carrying out God's purpose in revelation as his providence now is in securing the redemption of men.

The last point to be noted here is the "I of the Psalter." If the question were whether the Psalter were composed of lyrics used in the service of the second temple there can be but one answer. If it be asked whether it were largely adapted to the service of the second temple, probably the reply would be the same. It is quite another question when we are asked whether the psalms primarily voice the Church-nation of Israel. If they be judged after the analogy of other lyric poetry we must emphatically deny the position of the author, ingenious as it is. It seems doubtful if anything better than a second-rate lyric was ever produced except as the expression of individual feeling. The essential characteristic of lyric poetry is feeling. Feeling or emotion is the most individual characteristic of human nature. Some emotions are heightened through the consciousness of sympathy, while again emotion often intensifies in isolation. Thus the very nature of lyric poetry is and must be individual. We cannot but believe that the psalms which appeal most powerfully to us are those which originally expressed individual emotion. It is equally true that the value or permanence of a lyric is due to the fact that the feeling which it expresses is representative, it is one which all may experience and many do. Doubtless the Jewish Church selected those lyrics which voiced their most universal religious feelings, so that the "I" may indeed represent the Jewish Church, but as an "I" appropriated through sympathy, as the hearts of men answer to the heart of a man. To call the fifty-first psalm "a penitential prayer of the Church-nation of Israel" in any other sense is scarcely less difficult than to say that the Old Testament does not teach a personal God.

F. B. DENIO.

BANGOR, ME.

PERSIAN LITERATURE, ANCIENT AND MODERN. By ELIZABETH A. REED, Member of the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, etc. Pp. xiv, 419. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1893.

The book might better have been named "Selections from Persian Literature," for it consists chiefly of extracts from Persian writings (in English translation), arranged in chronological order. Accompanying these extracts, and occupying nearly an equal amount of space with them, is a series of essays treating of the history of the literature, the successive periods, external influences (such as the Mohammedan conquest), and so on. The whole is introduced by an "Historic Outline" of Persian literature.

There is no other Oriental literature that appeals to Western readers like the Persian. Aside from the true "Oriental" magnificence, in thought and expression, which is here exemplified as nowhere else, there is a philosophic insight and even depth of religious feeling, especially in the later poetry, that we look for in vain elsewhere. Arabic poetry, even at its best, cannot for a moment claim to be a rival, in this respect. But the difficulties in the way of writing a history of the literature are very great, for obvious reasons. So much of the material is in the form of still unedited manuscripts, in part unread, and with contents to a very large extent unsifted, that a vast amount of critical labor will be needed to prepare the way. Nothing of the nature of a comprehensive text-book of the literature has ever been undertaken; the effort to popularize results here is rarely met with; we may well be thankful for any competent attempt to give even a partial glimpse of the field. Such an attempt will be valuable in proportion as its relation to the whole work is kept clearly in view.

In the present volume the selection of passages from Persian writings has been for the most part judiciously made. The author has the faculty of selecting what is interesting, and the result is most attractive. The extracts are fairly representative, so far as they go, and are explained sufficiently to render them intelligible. If the author had been content to stop here, after thus making a sort of Persian anthology in English, it would have been well. But the book claims to be a history of the literature, and one searches in vain for any intimation that only a part of the ground is covered, or that anything is left to be desired in the way of thoroughness of treatment. As a matter of fact, even where thoroughness and accuracy might reasonably be expected, they are often wanting. The treatment of the history is superficial, and the account of the literary development very inadequate. The author is at a great disadvantage, to be sure, from the fact that she gets her material at second hand, not from the original sources. The faculty for selecting what is picturesque is not the main qualification for writing history. Nothing like a critical examination of material is anywhere attempted, and much that is important is wholly passed by. Such matters, for example, as the influence of the priesthood in Old Persia, and the semi-deification of the royal house in Sāsānian times, receive no mention, although they are necessary to a clear understanding of the national literature. No especial notice is taken of Pahlavi, and no explanation of the term is given. The relation of the Mohammedan conquest to Persian literature is hardly touched upon; one would expect that at least the fact of a vast influx of Arabic words would receive notice here! The modern prose comes very near escaping all mention. Such writers as Qazwini (to mention a single instance) are wholly ignored. In the department of fiction, the author apparently knows nothing of the problematic "*Hezār Afsāneh*," or prototype of the "*Thousand and One Nights*." Some very well known poets are not even named. The great lights of modern Persian literature are introduced

with due enthusiasm, but with little or no appreciation of their individuality. The reader who wishes for a characterization, from the literary point of view, of Firdôsi or Nizâmi will look in vain. There is nowhere any such thing as a comprehensive view of the spirit and inner characteristics of Persian literature, taken as a whole or in any of its divisions. All these things belong to the ground actually covered by the book, and could easily have been brought within its present compass. Their omission is certainly remarkable.

Another defect that calls for special mention is in the transliteration of Oriental words and proper names. The author gives at the beginning of the book a somewhat clumsy and obscure system of diacritical signs, which, however, might be made useful if it were consistently employed; but it is not. For example, the name of a well-known king is variously written "Khosru," "Koshrou" (!) and "Koshrû" (!); the guttural *'ain* is reproduced in three different ways (no one of which is given in the introductory table); "Bâhram" on one page is "Behrâm" on the next, and so on. The transcription is in very many cases flatly wrong, not to mention the multitude of instances where only a part of the necessary diacritical marks are present. All through the book there is the appearance of painstaking accuracy in this matter, and for this very reason only those who already know the ground thoroughly will escape being constantly misled. Transliteration with diacritical signs should be at least tolerably accurate, or it is much worse than useless. One notices further such inaccuracies as the repeated writing of "Gobyras" for "Gobryas," a mistake that would lead one to infer that the author is as little acquainted with Greek as with Persian and Arabic.

In short, the value of the book is confined to its convenient panorama of selections from the foremost writings. It is to be hoped that no one will mistake it for a "history" of Persian literature, or even for an authoritative utterance upon the subjects with which it happens to deal.

The publishers have done their work well. Two manuscript fac-similes, one of an illuminated title-page, the other of an old Zend MS., form a pleasing addition to the book.

Charles C. Torrey.

THE SON OF A PROPHET. By GEORGE ANSON JACKSON. "Hast thou considered my servant Job." Pp. vi, 394. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1893. \$1.25.

Two objections might be raised to this story of the reign of Solomon, one ethical, one literary. The first is, that the author attributes to Benaiiah, the son of Jehoiada, and to Bathsheba, principally the former, a character of treacherous bloodthirstiness, of which the record gives no indication, and attributes Adonijah's attempt upon the crown to cunning and roundabout enticements of theirs, of which there is not the faintest evidence, and which are hardly intelligible in the story itself.

The literary objection is, that the story conveys back into the time of David a maturity of reflection on the relation of Israel to the nations which there is no reason to believe had occurred to even the most exalted minds, and describes an antagonism between priests and prophets which does not appear to belong to *any* period of Israelitish history. Even Jeremiah himself, a priest in birth, describes the whole body of the priests and of the prophets as joined in the same unholy conspiracy. The opposition is between here and there a lofty soul, whether within or without the priesthood, and the great mass of commonplace characters, whether called priests or prophets. Besides, the distinction between Israel and Paganism is evidently scarcely known in David's time, and such an ethical and religious indignation against even Baal and Astarte as could make the thought of missionary effort abroad in the time of David even intelligible is hardly "mentally presentable." The whole atmosphere of the story appears to us exceedingly anachronistic. The anachronism is made the more glaring by modernisms, not merely of speech, but of thought, such as "after all, the old death-dealer has a heart." "Solomon has no conception of the seriousness of the crisis," heightened by such Americanisms as "loaned" and "spatted the hands," and "making the shortest record ever known."

However, laying all questions of consonance with the age aside, Mr. Jackson has given us a brilliant story, full of color, variety, and splendor. The description of Tyre, its magnificence and the horrors of cruelty and lust in its worship, is grand. Egypt is unrolled before us, and affinities and ancestral sympathies of religion described in whose reality there is small reason to believe, but which are so developed as to produce for the time being at least a certain impression of verisimilitude. The story, however, has its fullest liberty, as it is meant to have, in breathing the free air of the Hauran, and of the tents of the Kenites and the other semi-Israelitish tribes which fringe the Holy Land, or form little islands within it, holding the faith of Jehovah, but unbound by the Levitical ritual. The fusions and transitions between these and Israel proper are described with life-like ease, and in a way serving to show how they at the last made it easier to break the hard shell of Judaism and to have wider-ranging thoughts of God and his purposes. To this end Job, substantially, is antedated by many ages, with perhaps not inadmissible freedom. Thus the little story may be regarded as achieving its essential purpose. It is full of faith, love, and hope.

The description of the Jubilee agrees with popular impression, although there is reason to believe that, as the rabbis declare, the Jubilee was an ideal never once realized during the whole history of Israel.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

THE PRIMITIVE SAINTS AND THE SEE OF ROME. By F. W. FULLER, of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley. With a Preface by EDWARD, LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN. Pp. xxxi, 428. London: Longmans, Green & Co., and New York: 15 East 16th Street. *All rights reserved.*

The primitive saints here mentioned are not the original Christians, but those Christians, especially bishops, of the first four or five centuries, whom the church, in particular the Roman Church, has canonized. The object is to show that these saints knew nothing of a divine right of Rome to guide the church, even by hearing appeals, still less by "ordinary and immediate" jurisdiction, and nothing of the necessity of being in communion with Rome in order to being in catholic communion generally. The author accomplishes this purpose most effectively, writing with a clearness and pungency which are heightened by his careful moderation and Christian friendliness of temper. Facts that most of us either did not know at all, or knew only in a hazy dispersedness, he brings together into a most convincing focus. We know nothing better than this modest work to explain the extreme resentment of Ultramontanism at all attempts of Catholics to ascertain what history says about the papal claims. Either the great bishops of the first centuries were schismatics, and indeed heretics, of the most aggravated virulency, or there is no room for even such a "latent" underground tradition of papalism as the advocates of the Immaculate Conception have been fain to assume for that.

The author fixes attention steadily on what we are continually forgetting, that where in early history it is said that the Roman bishop excommunicated these or those churches nothing is meant but that he did what any bishop might do, refused them communion with his own church. To be out of communion with great Rome was no doubt a very serious thing, but the bishops treated it as being in kind nothing different from any other like episcopal act. When the haughty Victor put Polycrates of Ephesus and his comprovincials out of his fellowship, they were not, therefore, brought out of fellowship with Lyons, or with the church generally. Eusebius knows that Victor *endeavored* to cut off Polycrates and his fellows from the *general* unity, which, however, he did not accomplish. The fourth century knew nothing of Rome as the necessary centre of unity. Polycrates, who had calmly disregarded the Roman imperiousness, is praised by St. Jerome, who, on occasion, can talk almost like a modern Vaticanist, as an able and weighty man, mainly on the strength of his resistance to Rome. Imagine such a Roman Catholic eulogy now!

Mr. Fuller points out, what Cardinal Newman cannot help observing, that the Roman supremacy — never anything more than an occasional irruption into the East — long existed in the West in just the same form of moral *influence* which Canterbury now enjoys within Anglicanism. And indeed, Canterbury may some day, in a measure, have an "immediate and ordinary" jurisdiction throughout the Anglican communion.

Had the Vatican Council, by universal free consent, given this to the Pope as an historical development, not a divine appointment, it might have lawfully done so, no doubt, within its range of control. Father Puller, of course, assumes that it is divinely forbidden. Few of us will agree with him there. His strength lies in proving that the Cyprianic episcopate has scarcely a feature in common with the Vatican papacy.

Is it not curious that St. Augustine, the eulogist of Rome — "*Roma locuta est*," etc. — is so filled with admiration of Cyprian's mildness in his controversy with the Pope? Imagine the Bishop of Cremona, liberal as he is, now praising an Archbishop of Algiers because he has not retorted on Leo XIII. threats of excommunication which the latter had launched at him! No wonder that it was nearly 1,500 years before even Roman arrogance dared to impose perfectly developed Vaticanism upon the faithful.

Of Rome and Nicæa the author well says: "If Silvester was the infallible monarch of the church, he certainly adopted the strangest methods for asserting his infallibility and his sovereign authority. He said nothing about either of them, but he behaved just as he ought to have behaved if he was the first bishop in the church, and nothing more." By the way, it is instructive and amusing to follow up the contortions of Bellarmine in his endeavor to explain the Nicene canons out of their calm assumption that Roman, Alexandrian, and Antiochene primacy are all one and the same thing in kind. If a Presbyterian, Congregationalist or Episcopalian is appointed by his denominational publishing house to project back the arrangements of his sect into the first century, as "*the apostolic polity*," he ought to give his days and nights to the reading of the *De Romano Pontifice*. If that does not teach him to sophisticate sufficiently for any publishing house in the world, his candor is beyond cure.

The author points out that the first great advance towards coercive papal jurisdiction was given by the imperial edict of Gratian. Obedience to it, therefore, was simply an Erastian act — submission to Cæsar. Even now, when Rome wants to carry a point, she is not ashamed to speak of an emperor, even the schismatic Czar, as the "*Patriarch of the North*."

The centre of the work, for clearness and concentration, is that part which handles the great Meletian schism. Very few consider that the Second Œcumenical Council, that of Constantinople, was under the presidency of a bishop out of communion with Rome, and that he, dying during the council, was immediately canonized, and has been long since admitted by Rome into her calendar as an illustrious saint. With him were St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Peter of Sebaste, St. Amphilocheus, St. Pelagius, St. Elogius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and many more. Cardinal Orsi himself, though an Ultramontane, declares that "perhaps there has not been a council in which has been found a greater

number of confessors and saints." "But above all," he says, "St. Meletius was preëminent, both for the dignity of his see and for the excellency of his virtue." And yet this great saint and bishop was as much out of the Roman communion then as the Archbishop of Canterbury is now. Some deny it, but Italian Acta sufficiently prove it. Nevertheless, he and the great bishops with him tranquilly proceeded to hold an Œcumenical Council, and never came into any consciousness that they had ever been for a moment out of the unity of the Catholic Church, though, of course, greatly grieved that the arrogance of Pope Damasus was so long interrupting, for various bishops, their active fellowship with the West. When the Old Catholic bishops are taunted by the Ultramontanes with being out of the unity of Rome, they need not be greatly afflicted, in view of the fact that St. John Chrysostom himself was never for a day in communion with Rome until he was fifty-one years old, and had become Bishop of Constantinople. By that time he had written most of his commentaries and homilies. "When we are reading any of St. Chrysostom's works, or when they are being quoted controversially either on the one side or the other, it is desirable that we should remember that in the majority of cases what is being read or quoted was written by the saint at a time when, according to Cardinal Wiseman's theory, he was living in schism. The mere statement of such an absurd consequence appears to me to constitute of itself a disproof of the theory which logically leads to it." When Chrysostom, in Antioch, thunders against those who are endeavoring to break the unity of the see, he is aiming at the faction schismatically encouraged by Rome. It is, as the author remarks, as when an Anglican now warns his brethren against going over to the small Roman Catholic minority in England. Rome can afford to talk large, for she has two mighty allies, ignorance and cowardice.

Of course a great advance was made under Leo I., that rare phenomenon in the Roman chair, a man who really guided the thought of the Church.

The author numbers a little short of 7,000 canonized saints who flourished in the East during the subsequent Acacian schism, when the Orient was cut off from the communion of the West for thirty-five years. Rome was very nearly as arrogant then as now, and the demonstrations of servility in the Italian bishops were as sickening as anything witnessed in our day. Yet these thousands of Eastern saints held their own. "Some of these saints died before the healing of the schism, and therefore out of communion with Rome. Others did not die until after the schism was healed, but they had become illustrious by their sanctity, and in some cases by their miracles, while they were out of communion with Rome. I do not remember that in any case there is the smallest particle of evidence to show that they viewed their restoration to communion with Rome as an event of any personal importance to themselves. They doubtless rejoiced that the unity of the church was once more rendered

visible, and that the breach of communion between the Eastern and Western bishops had come to an end; but there is not the least reason for supposing that they regarded themselves as having been outside the church before the pacification, and as having been brought within the true fold by reason of that event. I doubt if such an idea ever crossed the mind of any Eastern Catholic during the whole course of the controversy."

The Irenæan passage is soundly explained as denoting the necessity of continual resort, by the faithful, as by all, to the imperial city, so that apostolic tradition was continually refreshed and corrected at Rome as nowhere else. Exactly the same expression is used by St. Gregory Nazianzen, in 381, of Constantinople, which he calls, for precisely the same reason, "the common emporium of the faith."

It is an interesting fact that the doctrine of the Universal Episcopate of a Pope is actually seventeen hundred years old, but that it is first advanced by a heretic, and in favor of Jerusalem and James, to whom Peter and Rome are made completely subject.

The "*unitas sacerdotalis*" of Cyprian is very well explained concretely of the whole body of Western bishops, recognizing Rome as their mother church, which she historically was.

It is interesting to note that the bishops of Gaul, having once applied in a stress to Rome, then, when the nearer Milan had risen to greatness, apply to that and Ambrose. They evidently did not know so much as that Rome was their patriarchate. That all their attributes were held at her pleasure was something they did not learn until the Revolution uprooted their church and De Maistre and his zealots then trod it to pieces.

It is, as the author says, a shame that so noble a man as Leo should, in support of his unreasonable quarrel with the great St. Hilary, have procured that edict of Valentinian which does in fact make the Pope's word law and the bishops his humble servants. Rome browbeat Hilary living, and has canonized him dead.

Our author justly remarks that the mechanical definition of unity, as being merely adherence to Rome, renders perfectly nugatory our Lord's prayer for it. Christ prays for it as something depending on union with the Spirit, and therefore capable of being greatly impeded.

Of course the little treatise, as may be inferred from the authorship, rests throughout on the High Church assumption that the church comprehends, not all believers, nor all the baptized, but only those who, being Catholic in belief, are in subordination to such bishops as the Church of England recognizes as of uninterrupted succession. Whether Romanism is anything more than the logical working-out of this theory may be a question. At all events, the author shows conclusively that Vaticanism is not only not supported by the early centuries, but is crossed and contradicted at a hundred points.

Charles C. Starbuck.

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Vol. IV. Reports and Papers of the Fourth Annual Meeting, held in the City of Washington, Dec. 29 and 30, 1891. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M. A., Secretary. Pp. lviii, 235. New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1892.

After the Proceedings the first article is a Bibliography of Church History by the Secretary, occupying thirty-four pages. The second, by William Kendall Gillett and Rev. Charles Ripley Gillett, turns upon the Religious Motives of Christopher Columbus. The authors judge, with considerable support from facts, that religion was so far subordinate among the motives of Columbus as to put him not only far behind Las Casas, but substantially in another class.

The next paper, by Professor Williston Walker, turns on the "Heads of Agreement" between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England, drawn up in 1691. The consenting parties soon fell asunder at home, but as Increase Mather had been a chief party in devising the articles, these soon came to be well known and highly influential here, and turned out to have furnished the more liberal part of the Saybrook Platform, being a document without whose mitigated statements—in which Presbyterianism figures very slightly—Consociationism would hardly have established itself in Connecticut. The heads, indeed, although drawn up by a meeting of ministers in which two thirds were Presbyterians, yet, partly from the necessities of such a compromise, partly, we may suppose, from the incongruity of Presbyterianism with the English temper, but above all by the Congregationalism of two of the main promoters, Mead and Mather, and the Congregational training and learning of the great John Howe, were hardly more stringent than the Cambridge Platform itself, while, as being more recent and more definite, they became permanently influential in restraining Connecticut from going so far from the Massachusetts model as she might otherwise have done, unless, indeed, the Saybrook plan had then broken down altogether.

The next paper, by Mr. Thomas Davidson, respects the Nature of Church Unity. This is marked by all the great ability and knowledge of the author, and contains views which must be taken into account by all who are working for reunion, however unacceptable to us are the author's pronounced preferences for Roman Catholicism over either the Greek Church or Protestantism. He, however, represents the principle of unity in the Church as consisting neither in creeds nor in institutions, but in the common consciousness of the indwelling God, revealed in Christ, maintained through the Spirit, fulfilled in eternity, realizing the final aim of the slow æons of divinely guided evolution, and meanwhile destined to supersede on earth the careful balancings of self against self by the kingdom of God, in which the good of each is the good of all, and in which the consciousness of an eternal good laid up in heaven induces the care-

less magnanimity of the Sermon on the Mount. The author places the victorious resurgence of the old ideal of Rights and Duties — deeply tempered, it is true, by the gospel — at about the same date as Hatch, who finds in Ambrose the Stoic rather than the Christian philosopher.

Mr. Davidson's position, that, inasmuch as Roman Catholicism embraces at least half of Christendom, ultimate reunion means substantially the reabsorption of the severed bodies in the Roman communion, and the acknowledgment of this as the trunk of which they are but the separated branches, is encumbered with some considerable difficulties, both of logic and fact. Severed branches are incapable of reunion. Their only hope of life is in being planted for themselves. Then to say that because Roman Catholicism numbers half Christendom, it *is* Christendom, is like saying that because a statue is broken into three pieces, one of which is as large as the other two, the largest piece is the statue. The author himself acknowledges that the Kingdom of God cannot lose its unity, and that the church, which may, is a means, not an end. Assuredly the Greek Church has never had any consciousness of being a fragment of Rome, although, with a modesty which seems more Christian than the temper of Rome, she is perfectly willing to acknowledge that she is but a mutilated fragment of Christendom, and that a General Council has been impossible since the rupture. The author, indeed, in direct opposition to the crystallized system of Rome, maintains the historic legitimacy, each in its place, of Papacy, Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Methodism, and Quakerism, and does not trace disunion to rebellion against an external authority, but to the decline of general Christendom from the realm of faith, in which, being subjects, we *are* more, into the realm of mere reason, in which, being busy about mere concepts, we simply *know* more, and in the stiffness of our intellectual pride jostle each other for precedence. As to his admiration of the great theology of Thomas Aquinas, and the great erection of Dante thereupon, the deeper temper of the present age is not likely to quarrel with him over that. We are all willing to concur in the noble eulogy pronounced on Aquinas by Dr. Shedd.

The author justly declares that the great underlying question of the world is now whether man is to be treated as only a citizen of this life, engendered by chance, and dying like a beast, and whether all the arrangements of society are to be fashioned on this basis, or whether he is to be treated as a citizen of eternity, and whether society and the state are to yield, not servilely, but flexibly, to the higher purposes of the church. It is the old problem of the Middle Ages, but far more fundamentally conceived. Mr. Davidson rightly declares that unless Christendom can unite, Christendom will cease to be, and the church will perish under the victorious weight of the atheistic antichrist.

The author pleads not for formal negotiations so much as for the humble recognition on every side that we see but in a glass darkly, and for the diligent study of every form of Christian thought, not to exalt

our own superiority above it, but to ascertain what great truth may be in it in which we yet fall short, or what great principle of common action there may be affording an organ of which we are not now possessed. He emphasizes the humiliating fact, that whereas the doctrinal system of half Christendom rests on Scholasticism, there is not offered to-day in all the Protestant universities of Germany, and probably not in this country, a single course on Scholasticism. Hence, not merely the hideous caricatures and inversions of popular malignity, but the ludicrous and humiliating misstatements of great and even friendly divines. However, elsewhere, Mr. Davidson has justly signified his good cheer at finding that even among us there can be born such a book as "Bernard of Clairvaux."

We are glad to welcome such an advance from the time when, in his great article on Rosmini, Mr. Davidson attacked the belief in God as a hopeless intolerance, and declared that of heaven the great Italian thinker knew no more than the clod beneath his feet.

The next paper is by Professor John Gordon, of Omaha, on the Bulls distributing America. Professor Gordon would have made this more complete by introducing Paul III.'s brief of 1537, which Llorente seems justified in treating as a virtual revocation of the bull of Alexander. It denounces all attempts to coerce the Indians, or to deprive their princes of their legitimate authority, and is conceived entirely in the spirit of Las Casas and the Dominicans who procured it, and who limited the edict of Alexander simply to the assignment of exclusive missionary obligations to the kings of Castile. "The papal bulls," says the famous Provincial Synod of 1545, held in the city of Mexico, "are not meant to add to the dominion or to the wealth of our sovereign." It is greatly to the credit of Charles V. and Philip II. that so far as they could they suppressed Dr. Sepulveda's book in advocacy of the harsh earlier theory on which Ferdinand, after his wife's death, had permitted his captains to act, and for which Las Casas can find no words of sarcastic denunciation strong enough.

The next paper, by the Rev. John Nicum, is the Confessional History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. It appears that this has now more than 5,000 ministers, 8,700 congregations, and 1,300,000 communicant members. Their numerous synods adhere respectively to what the author calls a *liberal*, a *conservative*, and a *rigid* view of the Symbolical Books. The first seems not absolutely to deny that as Paul claimed only a fragmentary view of the things of God, Luther may possibly have had no more, while the latter two, but above all the third, vehemently repudiate the assumption that the Lutheran Confessions "contain a one-sided or partial statement of the divine truth." Goethe — we believe it was — seems to have been warranted in defining the difference between the Roman and the Lutheran Church to have been, that the former is infallible and the latter always in the right. A sound,

strong, deep, and healthy addition to our Christian life, nevertheless. The Missourian Lutheranism has revived the original absolute predestinarianism of Luther himself, but does not appear to have derived this from any one but him. It indicates not the slightest leaning towards the Reformed.

The next paper, by Mr. Barr Ferrel, of New York, is on Christian Thought in Architecture. It is a thorough and masterly paper. The author remarks that while the history of architecture is almost coincident with the history of religious edifices, the history of religious thought in architecture is far behind this. The Middle Ages were above all things architectural, and Christian thought then expressed its fullness in architecture. The Renaissance ended religious architecture. The churches of to-day express no religious thought or feeling, both of which seek any other manifestation than this.

In Paganism art dominated religion. The temples of Rome, but above all of Greece, express the magnificence of the state, the splendor of æsthetic feeling, touched rather than controlled by religious emotion. Christianity, although, in the careless confidence of its strength, fully appropriating heathen symbols and constructions, yet, as needing to provide for a worshipping congregation, did not set out from the accommodated temple, but from the accommodated basilica, the oratorical hall of the Roman patrician house, in which so commonly the early churches met, being thus (as pointed out by Mr. Brown) from the beginning accustomed to that richness of interior decoration which the church basilicas afterwards developed. The original basilica was of a T form, and the cruciform shape was simply the undesigned result of throwing out an eastern arm beyond the altar to accommodate the enlarging body of the clergy. It had no more to do with the cross than the multiplied triplicities of Gothic architecture with the Trinity.

In the north, and in the Gothic, Christian thought and feeling first found themselves wholly free for expression. The Gothic, therefore, is in the full sense the Christian architecture. While making the fullest provision for the worshipping congregation, it surrenders itself even more to the rendering forth of Christian doctrine and devotion, using all accessory arts, but, above all, glass-painting and sculpture. "While it cannot be said that each individual piece of sculpture was an expression of the carver's religious faith, the work, as a whole, was permeated by a thorough Christian feeling and a genuine piety that has seldom been so beautifully illustrated."

Among the countless benefits to humanity rendered by the Western monks the author puts their development of the Gothic cathedral. "It is safe to say that Gothic architecture would never have been so thoroughly developed, would never have penetrated from France, where it originated, to England, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and even to Sweden and Norway, and have retained such general similarity of form and style, had it not been for the monks, who, with their systems of communication and

visitations, and energy as architects and builders, devised a persistent form of art that to but a limited extent shows the influence of the very various environments in which it flourished. All the monastic orders had characteristic buildings, but it is to the Cistercians the world is chiefly indebted for the distribution of Gothic architecture. They were the greatest monastic builders, and were one of the prime causes in the revival of the 11th century."

Mr. Ferrel points out how jealousy of the orders stung the bishops, above all in France, into the most brilliant architectural rivalry of them. "Christian architecture reached its culmination in the French cathedrals of the 13th century: in St. Denis, Chartres, Paris, Reims, Bourges, Beauvais, Rouen, Amiens, Christianity put forth its mightiest effort in art and made its greatest successes." The author explains the greater frequency in England of the splendid Lady Chapels terminating the apse by the fact that so many of the French cathedrals were themselves dedicated to Mary, notably Senlis, Noyon, Paris, Laon, Chartres, Soissons, Rouen, Amiens, Reims, Coutances, Bayeux, Evreux, and Sees.

The author alludes to the great development of the roof. "In the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris no less than thirty-eight piers support the roof of the church west of the transepts, the total number of columns and piers springing from the floor amounting to eighty-three. In the cathedral of Bourges, which, like Notre Dame, is a five-aisled church, sixty columns and piers are required to support the vaulting. But it was not in width nor in number of the columns alone the cathedral impressed the eye; the vaulting was placed at a height far exceeding any roof before devised by man. The vault of the cathedral of Amiens is 147 feet above the floor, that of Cologne 155 feet, and that of Beauvais 157 feet. Nothing more stupendous than these lofty vaults has ever been built by human hands, and even the spaces of the great domes of the Renaissance, of St. Peter's at Rome, of the Duomo at Florence, or of St. Paul's at London, are scarcely superior to them in impressiveness of effect."

"The Bible of Amiens" — Mr. Ruskin's essay — carries in its title a most picturesque and truthful description of what the French mediæval cathedrals really were. They were more than mere churches, more than mere places for the display of priestly ritual, for elaborate ceremonies, and imposing functions. They were the centre of the life of the city, the places of popular resort, the most conspicuous feature of the town. They were epitomes of the culture and thought of the time. Here alone was found education and ideas, and here the people came for inspiration, not only of purely spiritual things, but of the intellect. The churches were in truth mighty Bibles, sources of instruction and light in a time when just such illustration was needed. It is impossible to study these monumental milestones in the history of humanity without feeling that the light which these buildings disseminated was of a wholesome and manly nature. One cannot come from studying them without gaining renewed confidence in the people and in the religion that produced them, in the faith that gave them being."

The next paper is on the Friendship of Calvin and Melancthon, by Dr. Schaff. The author remarks that it corrects popular impressions of Calvin's unamiability that he had so many friendships and that he never lost any. This friendship is an important and valuable link between the two sides of the Reformation. Melancthon, being thirteen years the senior, received from the younger divine a reverence which he was too modest to claim. This friendship must have had a very important influence towards securing for the Reformed Church a position of parity in Germany.

Dr. Schaff adds a very finely appreciative Roman Catholic estimate of the Institutes. The days of such vulgarly abusive treatment of Calvin as is illustrated by Archbishop Spalding may be regarded as fairly passed by.

The last paper, a full and thorough one by Professor Newman, of Canada, is, Recent Researches concerning Mediæval Sects. On p. 176 we have: "The type of Waldensianism represented is thoroughly evangelical. The Roman Catholic Church is regarded as so apostate that salvation may not be secured in its communion." Are we to understand that in Professor Newman's view only those are thoroughly evangelical who hold that Roman Catholics cannot be saved? We can hardly suppose so, and yet this sounds like it.

The author shows strong grounds for believing that the Petrobrusians were not dualistic, but were essentially like the Waldenses.

It is a curious point what tendency it is in Protestantism, and especially in Puritanism, that leads to a looseness of the marriage bond. Doubtless it is its exaggerated individualism. We notice that the Waldenses were equally loose, the stricter party only insisting that there should be mutual consent for divorce, the looser allowing the churches to divorce couples without this. Rome was loose in practice, but strict in theory. How it was that the Waldenses, so rigidly literalistic in interpreting Scripture, should have so completely condemned the gospel in this vital point is somewhat obscure. When a Christian party finds Christ opposed to it, it sometimes explains Him away, and sometimes, like these Waldenses, simply disregards Him.

Both parties, it appears, the Italians and the Ultramontanes, maintained the absolute necessity of water baptism to salvation, thus, it should seem, denying the saving efficacy which Rome attributes to the baptism of desire and to the baptism of blood. As to transubstantiation, one view was, that a harlot or a heathen could effect it by the mere words of institution, the other, only a justified Christian. Neither side seems to have insisted on ordination as necessary to validity, extending to the second sacrament the view which Rome holds of the first.

We do not make out what the author means by the *old evangelical* Christianity of Columba and Columban, those monks of the monks and ascetics of the ascetics. The Irish Church is the only one in which stylitism, modified to suit a northern climate, has been a settled institution, surviving in its last example till the time of William and Mary.

The author says that the Taborites held that the Eucharist is validly consecrated even in an unconsecrated place. So do the Catholics. He probably means *regularly* consecrated.

He shows reason for believing that the first German Bible was Waldensian. The elements of revolt against Rome, from mild evangelicalism to fierce antinomianism, seem to have been rather driven in than crushed by persecution.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

TOOLS AND THE MAN. Property and Industry under the Christian Law. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. Pp. vi, 308. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1893.

These lectures, delivered before various colleges and seminaries, indicate the growing interest in economic subjects. The sympathies of the pulpit are broadening, coming in fact to include every problem of human life as never before. It is, however, to be kept in mind that economic and in a growing measure social problems are scientific problems. That is to say, their proper discussion presumes familiarity with the scientific method, an accurate knowledge of the progress and details of the science, and the scientific temper. Sentiment cannot take the place of rigid analysis, nor can sympathy eliminate facts. In paying a hearty tribute to Dr. Gladden's zealous philanthropy and evident kindness, one must add a warning against the danger of just such discussions. They abound in destructive criticism of the existing order of society, — criticisms particularly easy to the ethical temper — which serve to arouse discontent and the feeling of injustice. These critics fail, however, to perceive that an institution may be open to criticism, and yet be by far the best practicable. They fail to take account of the organic development of society, that is, they would reconstruct society as they would an old brick building, not perceiving that it has grown, and that its components are human beings and not bricks.

The book abounds in careless or injurious statements such as the following in the chapter upon "The Collapse of Competition : " "The second item in the same day's paper, of the murder of a boy by the Pinkerton men at Jersey City, adds another to the list of such homicides for which capital is responsible ; " or this : "Neither shall you, therefore, dictate to your men what wages they shall receive." At another point there is the insinuation that the idle rich are worse social parasites than the criminals, which is absolutely untrue.

Competition is the bugbear of writers of Dr. Gladden's school. One would imagine it to be the root of all evil. In fact, competition is responsible in a large degree for whatever good there is in man. He has reached civilization by means of it, and it is only by the keen and even bitter competition of men with each other and with nature that civili-

zation is maintained. There could be no greater misfortune than a state of no competition either in its broader or narrower sense.

Not that competition may not be regulated, either by the state or by coöperation or combination, — which is only the transfer of competition to a wider field; nor should the Christian church be denied the duty of moralizing competition. All this is probably what Dr. Gladden means, but something far more revolutionary than this is the tendency of such a book as this. The author is landed, or lands his readers, where they have no intention of going. To illustrate: In the chapter on "Property in Land," there is an admirable attempt to set forth the difficulties of communal ownership, coupled with such an exaggeration of the evils of the present system, that he ends in favor of collective ownership, in spite of himself, forgetting that it is a system utterly discredited by all experience. In the chapter upon "Property in General" there is a failure to perceive that it may be quite possible for great fortunes to benefit the public best by returning the largest dividends to their owners, and that educational and philanthropic institutions may employ in non-economic ways too much of the capital of the country.

Dr. Gladden is not consistent upon the all-important question, for him, as to whether the working-class is improving or not, neglecting the mass of proof brought forward by such authorities as David A. Wells and Edward Atkinson. Of course the wages system is denounced; but no other expedient for measuring the value of labor is suggested.

The chapter upon "Christian Socialism" contains much that is timely and true, along with such looseness of thought as that involved in failure to recognize the economic services rendered by "speculators."

D. Collin Wells.

HANOVER, N. H.

NATIONAL LIFE AND CHARACTER. A Forecast. By CHARLES H. PEARSON. Pp. 357. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

The author of this remarkable work — late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and some years minister of education in Victoria — herein surveys through both ends of the glass the Occidental and Oriental worlds, and forecasts the future of this round earth of ours. Prophecy is interesting, particularly to the prophet; its value to the reader depends, if not upon the amount of inspiration possessed by the prophet, at least upon the accuracy and fullness of his observations. We at once confess that we have here the mature reflections of a man of superior learning and wide information. He is equally at home in European literature and colonial history, and withal serious and weighty. His style and temper are that of a man of affairs who is addicted to philosophy. The book is thoroughly interesting, and stimulating to a high degree. Having said this, and acknowledged our lasting obligations to the author, we must add that scarcely a conclusion of the book seems to us indisputable.

The tone of the writer is mildly but unvaryingly pessimistic, derived perhaps by contagion from the Orientals. A few sentences will indicate this. He concludes his first chapter, upon the "Unchangeable Limits of Higher Races," as follows: "The day will come and perhaps is not far distant when the European observer will look round to see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression, or under tutelage, but independent or practically so in government, monopolizing the trade of their own regions and circumscribing the industry of the European; when Chinamen and the nations of Hindostan, the States of Central and South America, by that time predominatingly Indian, and it may be African nations of the Congo and the Zambesi, under a dominant caste of foreign rulers, are represented by fleets in the European seas, invited to international conferences, and welcomed as allies in the quarrels of the civilized world. The citizens of these countries will then be taken up into the social relations of the white races, will throng the English turf, or the salons of Paris, and will be admitted to intermarriage. . . . We were struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought of as destined to belong to the Aryan races and to the Christian faith;—to the letters and arts and charm of social manners which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall awake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled and perhaps even thrust aside by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs. The solitary consolation will be, that the changes have been inevitable. It has been our work to organize and create, to carry peace and law and order over the world that others may enter in and enjoy. Yet in some of us the feeling of caste is so strong that we are not sorry to think we shall have passed away before that day arrives."

This is like an old man's lament over the evil times in which his age has fallen.

The answer to it all is that if the black and yellow races become our rivals it will be when and because they have become our equals in capacity for social and political organization. This will be an event to rejoice in, but to the ethnologist and student of history the day is far distant. To assume a permanent incapacity of all other races than our own is a far more depressing assumption than Mr. Pearson's contrary one. The testimony both of history and observation to the capacity of the yellow race is pretty uniform. Their capacity impressed General Grant, and Haeckel says, "It is only the Mongolian species which can at all successfully, at least in certain respects, compete with the Mediterranean."

As to their overwhelming us by geometrical progression, Mr. Pearson's own position is that a high civilization brings with it a nearly stationary population. Just at present Australia does not wish to be overrun with Chinese, any more than with rabbits; and we are certainly wise to exclude them in a manly, legal way. After all, the Chinese gave us many of our

most valuable inventions, and the Aryans are not unlikely of Mongolian affinities.

Turning now to European society, Mr. Pearson sees approaching a "stationary" condition, when there will be no outlet for population through immigration; when state socialism will indeed provide for the material wants of all, but at the expense of private initiative and energy. This stationary order will then go down before Chinese invasion, as did the socialistic Rome before the barbarians of the north. To this European decline, large armies, large towns, and large national debts are to contribute — all phenomena that lower the tone of national character.

As the state becomes more and more, patriotism, dangerous as chauvinism, will take the place of religion. In this process the religion of the family is to die out, as the family abode is no longer fixed, and the authority of parents over children and husband over wife ceases. "The austere traditions of Puritan family life" will be replaced "by a sensuous, genial, and fibreless society." Faith and Hope are to leave the earth — to Charity. "The faith in progress is based upon an assumption as to the divine purpose in creation, which is not only gratuitous, but opposed to facts. All that can be said is, that if we are passing into the old age of humanity, we may at least bear the burden laid upon us with dignity."

Such a summary is of course gross injustice to a work meaty with thought. It seems to us, however, that Mr. Pearson is fundamentally wrong in many of his assumptions. Religion is not entirely a matter of police regulation and almsgiving that can easily and better be transferred to the state. The questionings of the Eternal that always have gone out and always will go out from the human heart are not stifled with bread and butter. The "state" does not govern the heavens, or the human heart. Nor is it true that the family is decaying. To be sure, the "family" possessed a greater political and economic importance in early Rome and in patriarchal times than now, but it is also true that now it means, as it did not then, purity, community, and breadth of interest as well as ambition consecrated to the family welfare. The legal claims upon property of family relationship are not less readily acknowledged, but rather more, as time goes on. If divorce is easier and more common, it is partly a local and passing phenomenon, partly an attempt to realize the highest ideal of family life.

Of course the Roman Lares and Penates are no more, but in Christian times there has never been any "religion of the family," for one of the glories of Christianity is that it is communal and national rather than patrician.

As for state socialism, it is only making the progress to be expected of it as a reaction against the dominant individualism of the earlier industrial period. In as far as it does not work well, it will be discarded. If it should ever reach such a formal crystallization as to stifle human

energies, it will be broken by a political upheaval. In an age of steam and electricity, man is too strong, too potent and aspiring, to be suppressed. In evolution the ethical process is the best part of, rather than opposed to, the cosmic process. Mr. Huxley does not think so, nor Mr. Pearson. Can anything be more lacking in faith than this, with which this very able book closes?—"It is now more than probable that our science, our civilization, our great and real advance in the practice of government, are only bringing us nearer to the day when the lower races will predominate in the world, when the higher races will lose their noblest elements, when we shall ask nothing from the day but to live, nor from the future but that we may not deteriorate. Even so there will still remain to us ourselves. Simply to do our work in life, and to abide the issue, if we stand erect before the eternal calm as cheerfully as our fathers faced the eternal unrest, may be nobler training for our souls than the faith in progress."

If such stoicism is to prevail, a Mongolian invasion might kindly restore at least a faith in man, if not in God.

D. Collin Wells.

HANOVER, N. H.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN RUSKIN. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M. A. Two volumes. Pp. 565. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

It is a daring thing to attempt to write the biography of one of the great men of a generation before the generation is quite gone, and even while the man himself lingers with it. In the case of Ruskin the prophetic message was too profound, it struck too deeply at the root of the tree, to be received by any but a faithful remnant among his contemporaries. The doctrine of "Unto this Last" and "Munera Pulveris" is still almost as radical as it was thirty years ago; though it becomes more and more clearly true. Ruskin was himself in part responsible for the smallness of the remnant. His earlier writing, carrying in it the germ out of which the later sprang, had much in it that was fantastical and overwrought. When he came to his fullest light, and began with the authority of insight and inspiration to cast away so much that is material to the desires of this age, men soothed themselves with the reflection that Mr. Ruskin was merely a kind of very eccentric sentimentalist. By a strange irony, we in our day see some who are lulling their consciences against Ruskin's deeper message by affecting that same sentimental fancy, long regretted by Ruskin himself. The call that solemnly resounds through the master's later teaching is not of the kind that easily holds eager disciples. Its test is that one shall dispossess one's self, and then follow on. Ruskin is not therefore a distinct part of his age as an accepted teacher is. He will be a far greater figure to the coming generations than he now appears. His work will be the better estimated when the truth which he has so irresistibly told shall animate

the hearts and direct the hands of those who animate and direct the affairs of life.

This present biography has its great value in its presentation and explanation of the facts of Ruskin's career, including many things without which Ruskin's life and teaching has been mysterious and difficult, things which will illuminate the later study of his work and influence. But there is an even greater lack of proportion and perspective than the closeness of the point of view makes inevitable. The biographer might with all safety have taken greater risks. The lights and tones of the picture are too much on a level. The great chords of the music are not dwelt upon. The story wanders on quietly from first to last, showing how one thing leads to another, but with not enough to warn us of the intense significance of the climaxes and catastrophes, and the things which lead directly to them. Perhaps a man's private secretary is not the best person to be his biographer. The day, and not the deed, is apt to be the unit to one so placed.

Being so near to Ruskin, the biographer has been too conscious of his presence. There is too great an impression of Ruskin's immediate sorrows and defeats, and too little an impression of the undying power of Ruskin as teacher and leader. The things taken into account as showing the meaning of Ruskin's work, and setting its value, are too closely restricted to the outward and the contemporaneous. Few lives are less of a piece with the fabric of the life around him than Ruskin's was. It cannot be expressed at all sufficiently in the visible result of his activity, or even in the appreciation of his work by his contemporaries. It must be judged by the standard of what is invincibly true, of what will command the admiration and the loyal adherence of future generations. Looking from this point of view, one cannot but feel that the noblest phases of Ruskin's career are too dimly shadowed forth in this biography. The future biographer will see those phases of that great life in open vision; the present biographer might have seen them by faith.

Not only in the larger measure of Ruskin's life, in the gradual bursting forth of a great idea and a great purpose, do we long for a higher degree of solidity and relief, for the central light and the shadow. We long to be with the man himself, to see him really live. Only once do we catch a glimpse of him, when as Slade Professor of the Fine Arts he makes his appearance before his future disciples at Oxford. We must of course allow for the fact that Ruskin does not lend himself easily to vivid portraiture. With all his keen discernment of the incongruous and the inconsistent, Ruskin has not much of the sense of humor. The seriousness of his Scottish training stays always by him; nor is he rugged and granitic like grim old Carlyle. With all his love of the grass of the field, and his worship of the mountains, he was without the instinctive love of the particular men he saw about him; without a fresh and eager interest in simple people and their slight concerns; the quality, sometimes called "human nature," which, to give an instance, so distinguished

Charles Kingsley. He led a rather lonely existence. He does not have the background of family life, nor of close friendships. Admitting the difficulty of the task, we still must regret that Ruskin does not live in these pages. The disappointment becomes very keen when at the great junctures we do not even hear the prophet speak himself, but must be content with paraphrase.

In spite of these defects, as they seem to me, — largely, indeed, to be traced to the limitations involved in the circumstances — this biography will be of vast service in bringing the whole of Ruskin's unique career and voluminous teaching within compass, showing that Ruskin was consistent and at one with himself. Above all it leaves it impossible any longer to make a hard and fast distinction between Ruskin the art lover and Ruskin the social reformer. It shows clearly and well how that instead of being drawn away from art by general feelings of philanthropy, it was his love of art that urged, and at last compelled, him to take up the cause of the people. The gradual progress of Ruskin's thought from his first note of *sincerity*, from his conviction that art must represent not only the form and outline of nature, but its elusive spirit; through his coming to realize that the artist must have in him the quality of true insight in order to discern this mystery and portray it; through his coming to realize, from his studies into the secret of the beauty of the mediæval cathedrals, that not only the master-builder, but the workmen themselves must be artists with souls in them; to the conclusion that if England were ever to have a great national art, she must make it possible for the working-people to be moved by the impulses of art, must in fact make them *free*; here is, if one rightly and deeply appreciate it, a life argument, a series of inward achievements, which penetrates, from the side of the artist's insight, into the heart of our modern society, showing with unerring directness the distortion and iniquity which it involves. Mr. Collingwood has followed the course of this idea from stage to stage in Ruskin's life very carefully and convincingly. Not many that miss following it under his guidance will ever trace it in the voluminous works of the master himself; so that this biography will be indispensable to most of those who would know clearly what Ruskin's message to the world is. The comprehensive view of Ruskin's teaching after he had reached his conclusion that the workman must be made free, when he began seriously to study political economy and ethics, and presented one after another his books showing how his principles affected industry, commerce, education, social life, will serve to indicate the philosophic worth of his teaching, and to remove it out of the category of the merely casual and sentimental. The biography as a whole will have many lessons for those who have too quickly rejected Ruskin as well as for those who have too quickly followed him. In the light of the times, it is impossible longer to avoid taking Ruskin seriously. His teaching is a challenge. It demands a solemn choice.

BOSTON.

Robert A. Woods.

THROUGH CONVERSION TO THE CREED. Being a Brief Account of the Reasonable Character of Religious Conviction. By W. H. CARNEGIE, B. A., Rector of Great Witley, Worcestershire. Pp. viii, 129. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.

That this little book is written by a churchman may be divined from the use of the definite article in the title. If it were not for the limitations which his view of the church impose upon the author, and the feeling of disapproval which is thus awakened in the reader, the book would be laid down with a sense of mental and spiritual satisfaction. For it is a clarifying and pertinent treatment of the character of faith. The attempt to correlate the action of the mind in the exercise of faith with its action in other directions is demanded by that thirst for unity and harmonization which is impelling modern thought. The contribution of Mr. Carnegie to this discussion is clear, compact and philosophical. Taking conversion, which he interprets comprehensively, as the initial act of faith, Mr. Carnegie shows that in it is involved (1) a preliminary discipline, a recognition of certain wants, and (2) the discovery of a hypothesis which meets those wants. This hypothesis is proven satisfactory to him who has attained it through its ability (1) to solve his intellectual problems and (2) to enable him to cope with the practical issues of life. The analogy between this process of mind and that by which conclusions are reached in other fields of inquiry and activity is suggestively outlined. The conditions of faith, receptivity and intellectual humility, are declared to be normal and rational. The believer is not called upon to verify the antecedent terms of his faith. Certain facts are to be taken upon authority in this as in every investigation, at least by the mass of men. The author seems to desire to impose no limitations, however, upon the critical and philosophical examination of the contents of revelation. Thus far we follow him in the main with pleasurable assent. His treatment of the nature and potencies of revelation is especially admirable. But when in the chapter upon the development of faith he makes the assertion that "the Fountain Source of religious life is still an external objective source, of a definite, clearly marked form," we are surprised at the sudden contraction of the horizon, and the Master's words concerning the "lo here ! lo there !" view of the Kingdom of God come forcibly to mind.

John Wright Buckham.

SALEM.

ESSAYS IN LITERARY INTERPRETATION. By HAMILTON W. MABIE. New York : Dodd, Mead & Co.

An issue of sheets in plain boards, not only uncut but untrimmed, and showing the coarse twine of the stitching, would, in an inferior or ordinary book, be a conceited affectation. Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie's "Essays" upon the great masters of literature have, however, a texture

like that of the masters themselves. They deserve binding which shall fit them for a permanent place on the shelves of the library. It has been superficially assumed that the office of the critic is, in its nature, an inferior one; that the critic must rank below the object he criticises. Of the mere commentator this may be true, but the highest employment of astronomical genius is not found in the exploration of single objects in the heavens, but in that higher flight of speculative imagination which gathers stars into galaxies, galaxies into systems, and which attempts some larger theory of the whole scheme of the heavens.

It is an analogous office which, in Mr. Mabie's view, the highest criticism is attempting, in its survey of the literary firmament. His individual criticism of its greater lights, of Dante, of Shakespeare, of Tennyson and Browning, is admirable, but it is not so much what they are in themselves, or the beauty and grandeur of the truths they have brought us, as their relations to one another, and to the whole of human thought and destiny with which these essays are concerned. There is no office in literature of which there is to-day so great need as of its interpretation in the light of the great universal ideals, whose vision is being disclosed to the race.

In ballad and history, in epic and philosophy, in fiction and the drama, the literary sky is being filled with luminaries which shine in an almost bewildering profusion. What law of comparative estimate shall guide us amid the dazzling brightness? Did the Greek in grandeur, simplicity, and beauty reach an ideal perfection, both in literature and art, which must forever remain the despair of all succeeding ages? While every other human faculty is reaching out in the flush of expectation, has the highest reached premature exhaustion? It is just here that Mr. Mabie shows how, by a strange paradox, there lies in the very perfection of Greek art the proof of its inferiority, when judged by the highest standards. It was complete because its standard was low. Modern art, and with it modern literature, is incomplete, because its standard is infinite. Greek art attained its perfection of form by its exclusion of the spiritual. It aimed at the sensuous in the completeness of terrestrial existence. Modern art is the expression of an aspiration after a beauty which is infinite, and therefore unattainable. It is the thrilling sense of its lofty but unsatisfied yearnings from which spring the sweetness and pathos even of its failure. It is from this lofty standpoint of an ideal in its nature unattainable that Mr. Mabie passes in rapid but profoundly suggestive review both the ages and the masters of literary creation and development. Nowhere will there be found a nobler vindication of the high office of the critic, — a vindication in which Herder and Goethe, Coleridge and Arnold, Emerson and Lowell, are assigned their place, not below, but by the side of the great creators in the field of human thought. Perhaps the most significant position defended by Mr. Mabie over and over again in these essays is the absolute denial that any literary form

can have permanent authority or give law to subsequent epochs. The very law of evolution forbids in literature the existence of absolute standards or models by conformity or nonconformity to which a new work must be approved or condemned. The permanent element in literature is spirit, not form; not a particular manner, but perfection of manner; not uniformity, but endless variety of expression. Models exist, not for imitation, but for inspiration. We are to seek no rigid order of form, but veracity and beauty in infinite variety of manifestation. Criticism from this point of view wins the highest significance, and well employs the energies of the greatest minds. The predominance of critical literature, instead of being the reproach, becomes the glory of our age. It indicates not exhaustion of material, but a new direction of effort. It is the response of the century to the methods and the spirit of science, and bears witness to the completeness of the ultimate order. What man seeks is the fact and the law of life, and nowhere more than in the best critical writing is the oneness of the highest art and of the highest life clearly revealed.

The modern man has begun to face life on all its sides. It is assumed that every great fact of human experience, that every great energy of human purpose, has its significance, and must be studied as an element in the great world problem. Literature is not, like sculpture, capable of being explored and exhausted. If in the place of the grand but simple situations of the older literature, so dramatically presented, we have the infinite detail of the modern novel, it is because the modern world is determined, first of all, to know itself, to reach complete self-consciousness as the absolute condition of intelligent progress, even though the revelation uncover the unclean and loathsome as well as the pure and the good. We have no longer only great commanding types, massive because isolated, but a mass of specialized examples of universal facts. The literary instinct seeks to discover instead what is significant in that which is nearest and commonest, convinced that all life is a revelation. And so the wayside flower and the common thought and experience of the humblest are made the objects of study and analysis, because they are seen to have their significance as a part of the awful reality of life.

Henry Loomis.

NEW YORK CITY.

LES LUTTES ENTRE SOCIÉTÉS HUMAINES, ET LEURS SUCCESSIVES PHASES.
Par J. NOVICOW. Pp. 752. Paris: Felix Alcan. 1893.

In this book M. Novicow has attempted to apply to society the principles of general mechanics and biology. Atoms in their constant motion enter into combinations more or less permanent; animals and plants have been evolved in the struggle for existence, in which new alliances are constantly being formed and old ones destroyed. Society is simply a higher phase of this same activity; its units are alliances temporarily

formed by individuals seeking their own ends ; its growth is determined by the survival of the fittest in the struggle between these units. The individual's effort is governed by his desire to secure "la jouissance ;" "toute creature vivante fuit la douleur et recherche la pleasure" (p. 45, etc.). The state or social unit exists for the individuals composing it (Bk. IV. ch. iv.), and every successful effort to change the policy of a state, — for example, to secure international peace, — is necessarily based on an appeal to individual interest. The end proposed for culture is the adaptation of the environment to man and in particular the suppression of space and time (I. vi. pp. 426, 435, etc.).

The author finds two types of struggle, one of which ends in the elimination or destruction of one party, the other of which ends in the absorption of one party by the other. Then four forms of struggle are discussed : Physiological, economic, political and intellectual. Each of these comes successively to the social consciousness (pp. 154 f.), although all four exist in the very early stages of society. The struggle for human flesh and for females first becomes prominent, while to-day the political struggle is most clearly before the social consciousness, and is gradually being supplanted by the intellectual struggle. In each sort of contest brute force is disappearing and rational processes are taking the place of irrational (Bk. III.). Brigandage has been supplanted by barter, the spoliation of subject states has been given up, intellectual intolerance is yielding to free expression of thought, and force is destined to disappear even from political relations.

In these struggles social units are formed and gradually perfected. The family and the state are at first forms of property. But the true basis of any social unit is homogeneity, not physical power. Much space is devoted to the attempt to show that forcible methods hinder denationalization, and the examples of Alsace-Lorraine, the Polish and German provinces of Russia, and the different nationalities of Hungary are discussed in detail (II. vii. *et pass.*). The author looks forward to the time when every province will choose the government to which it will attach itself (*e. g.* p. 236) ; then the state will be truly homogeneous, competition of states will be on the intellectual plane instead of the physical (IV. iii.), and the reign of universal peace will be inaugurated. The conception of a state without sovereign authority is quite in harmony with the author's political philosophy, little as it may win general assent. The great function of the state is the administration of justice (III. vi.). Separate states exist as part of the "outillage" of civilized man, but when patriotism can take a larger scope, the functions of the state will centre in a federation of all states belonging to the same society (IV. vi.).

Two topics of international relations are introduced again and again. M. Novicow has written in Russian to show the folly of protection as opposed to free trade, and he devotes many pages of this book to the same subject. He is much impressed also with the barbarity of war. Its cost

in men and money almost exceeds belief, its causes are generally trivial and absurd, and, instead of producing political stability, every war introduces new causes of differences between states. The last fifty pages of the book treat of the errors of modern politics, and argue that politics to-day are nothing but a game pursued for the pleasure of those in power. Though the author may be criticised for devoting so much space to matters of practical politics, his rather wide acquaintance with historical and political data lends special interest to the book.

The chapters dealing with the proper topic of the book, social struggles, show considerable power of analysis. Studies in the evolution of an organism have too often been limited to a series of representations of the organism in different stages of development. Where it is possible to trace the different forces at work and producing these different stages, as this book attempts to do, the result is far more valuable and instructive. It is not difficult to show that social units originate in much the same manner as biological units. Naturally the science dealing with society as it is, the science classifying social units and discussing the normal modes of their activity, would precede the science of the genesis of society. Such a science of society is hardly presupposed by this book, which deals wholly with matters of genesis.¹

Arthur Fairbanks.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

A MODERN PAUL IN JAPAN. An Account of the Life and Work of the Rev. Paul Sawayama. By JINZO NARUSE. With an Introduction by Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D. 12mo, pp. 178. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Woman's education in Japan was one of the chief interests of this remarkable man. When Sawayama left his country, his father was required to give bonds that he should not change his religion. Five years later the traveled and devoted son was receiving ordination in Osaka at the hands of Joseph Neesima as a Christian minister. Not only was he the first pastor of a Japanese church. He made that church a power to proclaim the principle of self-support which he held to be "the one thing that is instrumental in making each believer mindful of the Lord's grace and the blessedness of His salvation." With humility and simplicity he united magnetism. Children no less than adults were won by his preaching. Like the Samurai from whom he sprang he carried soldierly traits into his life work. He wrote his Evanston friends, while conducting four services a Sunday, "It is a joyful thing to work hard for Christ." Too soon consumption chained him to his couch. But his prayers only

¹ To name only one unfortunate result of this reversal of the natural order, the normal modes of social activity are discussed as if they were nothing but forms of struggle. As if biology were to be concerned mainly with the competition of organs in the organism!

mounted the more freely to the Father in heaven. A list of names of his church-members was found after his death, which he was wont morning and evening to carry individually to the mercy seat. It was worn with handling. Here was the secret of his power.

Mr. Naruse has done well to tell the story of so fruitful a life. We understand he has given himself to the elevation of his countrywomen on lines laid down by his noble friend. He will devote whatever profit comes from the sale of this book to the establishment of a Sawayama memorial library which will form part of the equipment of a college for women in the land of the rising sun. Gifts may be sent to 342 Harvard Street, Cambridge, Mass.

John Phelps Taylor.

SERMONS PREACHED IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C. By GEORGE WILLIAM DOUGLAS, S. T. D. Pp. vi, 294. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

These sermons are worth reading. The author made no mistake in his prefatory note: "It seemed that at least the volume would be likely to subserve the only purpose for which I could desire to publish it, namely, that of securing to some earnest souls for continual reference the thoughts which, when originally uttered, had by God's blessing proved helpful." There is an intensity and an earnestness about the sermons that must have made them every way helpful when first delivered, and their directness and simplicity make them worth reading even more than once. The sermons reveal careful, honest work, wide and thoughtful reading, with deep meditation on divine things. They are free from literary flourishes and pedantry.

The statement in the preface: "I could have wished to indicate accurately the sources to which I am consciously indebted for thoughts and illustrations throughout this volume; but as I have been obliged to publish the book while separated from my own library by three thousand miles, and with no library at hand, it has been impossible to do this, except in a few cases where footnotes have been added to some of the sermons," and the footnotes themselves, which continually remind one that as the author is "at a distance from his library" he "cannot verify the quotation," are evidences of scrupulous honesty in the publication of the sermons; but the necessity for the apology might have been obviated by more care at the time of writing the sermons for delivery, or else by a delay in the publication until such time as the author could consult "the sources to which he was consciously indebted."

Geo. F. Kenncott.

LOWELL.

THE NEWER RELIGIOUS THINKING. By DAVID NELSON BEACH. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. 1893.

Preacher and layman will be grateful for this volume of sermons. The preacher will find them models of popular address upon vital themes that occupy delicate ground ; and the layman may feel confident that the aspects of modern thought upon difficult subjects are presented with a lucidity, fairness, and fullness of statement, and a fervor and vigor of style, that will edify and interest him from beginning to end.

"The Newer Religious Thinking," as its exact and felicitous title implies, is not a finished treatise on the present-day theology, nor a systematic statement of finalities in the philosophy of religion ; it is a presentation of the main features of topics which serious men are still discussing and will be likely to discuss in the ever progressive development of religious thought. While the author appreciates the fact that the newer thinking has not, from the nature of the case, reached a final conclusion, still he ventures a statement of his personal creed (p. 207), but not as a formal, dogmatic symbol ; it is simply a flexible summary of convictions which express the outcome of a conscientious search for the most impregnable intellectual position for religious truth that shall not be disturbed by every advance in criticism, or every new bit of historical evidence, or every fresh discovery in physical science.

The special function which this preacher is exercising in these discourses is that of a man with a sense and a passion for truth strenuously endeavoring to shed light upon topics in the realm of theology and of its relation to individual and social life that are fermenting in the minds of thoughtful people to-day. He describes vividly certain theological tendencies ; he indicates with sagacity and precision the significance of the changing aspects of unchanged truth. His manner of speech is not that of the cautious, conservative critic ; he speaks with the power and accent of conviction of a cultivated man who shares the spirit of his time, who believes that he discerns its signs, and who is eager to serve his day and generation by an intelligent exposition of what these things mean.

Mr. Beach is more than a mere observer and chronicler of the modern thinking. As the man of thought he is the trustworthy interpreter of a new social and religious movement ; as the preacher he is a prophet of the new era, a herald of the better day. He does not attempt rigorously to define the "newer thinking ;" he speaks through the method of intellectual sympathy and suggestion, and yet he gives to his treatment a sufficient definiteness of form that relieves him from the imputation of vagueness.

His high qualities as an interpreter of a great "tendency" in modern religious thinking are admirably represented in the first discourse. With fine insight and judgment he indicates the character, direction, volume, and rapidity of the forces that enter into the movement. The sermons that follow describe and interpret the newer thinking in "Its Hun-

ger after God," as the great religious impulse of to-day; in "Its Passion for Men," as related to the vast and complex problem of the masses; in "Its Thought of Nature, History, and Life," as it sets itself to read two books, and not One Book only, to listen to the whole oracle of God rather than confine itself to a written fragment; in "Its Idea of the Bible," as preëminently God's book for man, and, "when stripped of a false and mediæval authority and clad in its own pristine authority of spirit and of life," inspired to tell the meaning of that other book of God, — Nature, History, and Life; and, lastly, in its making "Christ the Centre" of the movement, as He rests his claim for highest authority over the hearts of men upon his being the revelation and embodiment of the "infinitely sacrificial heart of God," penetrating and conquering the world by love, — a love that runs through everything, "through nature, making it sacred, through history, by hallowing it, through life, imparting to it a new meaning."

This brief glance at the contents of the volume shows that it is a positive contribution to a constructive critique of the old theology and the new by a generous recognition of the constant and variant elements in religious faith and belief. The one principle that pervades these discourses is the principle which the author says underlies the traits of the newer religious thinking, — "a thoroughly enlisted intellect, as well as a thoroughly stirred heart. This is the glory of the new time. It appeals to the whole man." Evidently, the preacher's general theological position is that of Progressive Orthodoxy. His aim is intensely practical. He believes that on these subjects there is "sore need of light," and in his effort to impart a ray of that light he infuses both "warmth and vision." His hand bears a real torch. With his modern intellectual conceptions he unites genuine spirituality and warmth of heart; therefore his speech elevates, illumines, and kindles. Every page reveals the noble spiritual passion of one whose message thoroughly possesses his soul, and yet who is never unmindful that he is standing before a living audience to inform and clarify the intellectual life, as well as to inspire faith, and console mental trouble. The tone of this discussion never irritates the reader; it is a true irenicon, and will help to harmonize the differences of men. The book will go far towards supplying the missing link between the popular theology and the serious thought of many minds that are holding themselves aloof from membership in the Christian Church. It deserves a place in the library with the works of Theodore Munger, John Bascom, Washington Gladden, Newman Smyth, and with "Progressive Orthodoxy."

J. W. Churchill.

THE WORK OF JOHN RUSKIN. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN. New York: Harper Brothers.

This little book has much suggestive and interesting criticism of Ruskin's teaching. Mr. Waldstein gives Ruskin credit for having brought us into an entirely new and more vivid attitude toward nature, but

falls quite short, it seems to me, of the point of view from which alone Ruskin's æsthetic teaching can be judged. The peculiar spirit and life which Ruskin found in nature is held by Mr. Waldstein to be not a part of nature but simply something infused into it by Ruskin's religious fancy. With Ruskin as a social reformer, while admitting that in Ruskin's work there is enough of merit remaining to make him one of the greatest benefactors of mankind, Mr. Waldstein seems to think that the element of enthusiasm and exaggeration in Ruskin's message makes it much less valuable than the calm and measured statements of the social scientist. The prophet and the scientist each have their distinct function. It seems hardly to the point to dismiss Carlyle and Ruskin with faint praise because they are not thoroughly scientific.

Robert A. Woods.

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM. By THOMAS KIRKUP. New York: Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Kirkup is known as the writer of the very remarkable article on "Socialism" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." In that article he endeavored to give an entirely dispassionate account of the forces which are making in the direction of Socialism. In his book, "An Inquiry into Socialism," he undertook to present as an advocate his own socialistic belief. Now we have the clear and philosophic statement of the development of the socialist theory as held by all its leading expounders from the beginning. The book may be highly recommended as presenting a lucid, candid, and scholarly statement of a theory and a cause which is now beginning to be recognized as one of the most profound and significant influences in the life of civilized nations of the present time. Mr. Kirkup well says: "To all thoughtful and discerning men it should now be clear that the solution of the social question is the great task which has been laid upon the present epoch in the history of the world."

Robert A. Woods.

PAUPERISM AND THE ENDOWMENT OF OLD AGE. By CHARLES BOOTH. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

This latest book of Mr. Booth's contains, first, a series of studies in the life of the very poor in two London districts, and in the country village of Ashby; and, in the second place, Mr. Booth's argument for a great system of public pensions for the worthy poor as they reach old age. The pictures of life in Stepney are largely taken from the books of the relieving officers in that district, and it will be interesting for those who have read "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" to read this exact and scientific account of the situation in which the scene of the story is laid.

In connection with Mr. Booth's plan for the public endowment of old age, we need always to be reminded that Mr. Booth is the very farthest

from being a visionary. It means a great deal that a hard-headed business man, brought up in the school of *laissez faire*, should, after the most painstaking and long-continued investigation of the condition of the dependent poor, find that the only hope lies in the undertaking by the state of certain lines of great collective enterprise.

Robert A. Woods.

BRIEF NOTICE OF IMPORTANT BOOKS.

A NUMBER of books have been in my thought to notice, on account of their worth, somewhat fully in this "Review," but I have not found the requisite time. A few of these may here be named.

Two volumes of the "Second Series" of the "Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," edited by Dr. Schaff and Dr. Wace, and published by "The Christian Literature Company," New York, have been received by the "Review," each of which deserves high commendation. The first (Vol. I. of the series) contains a new translation of Eusebius's Church History, by Professor McGiffert, now of Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., and a revised translation by Dr. E. C. Richardson, now at Princeton, of the Life of Constantine, Constantine's Oration, and Eusebius's Eulogy of Constantine. All of the works thus included are accompanied by valuable Introductions, and the History is very fully and admirably annotated. A student will find in Dr. McGiffert's "notes" the best introduction to a critical study of the history of the church during the first three centuries. A handy edition of the Greek text is published by the Clarendon Press, with an Introduction by Dr. Bright, of Oxford. There is great need of a new and critical edition of the original work.

The other volume referred to is the fourth in the series: "Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, edited, with Prolegomena, Indices, and Tables, by Archibald Robertson, Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham," etc. Dr. Robertson's editing is of a very high order. It reminds, in its comprehensiveness and solidity of learning, combined with literary perspective and grace, of Bishop Lightfoot's work. The "Prolegomena" contain the clearest and most trustworthy concise sketch of the Arian controversy which has appeared. This is followed by translations, new or revised, of nearly all the principal writings of Athanasius which have been preserved. Full as the volume is, it may well be wished that the letters to Serapion had been included, or that Dr. Robertson would publish them separately, with perhaps what remains besides. The life of Antony is included, and is translated by Rev. H. Ellershaw, the introduction and notes being supplied by Mr. Robertson. Miss Payne Smith revises for this volume the Oxford translation of the "Festal Letters." Cardinal Newman's work in the Oxford Library translation is largely appropriated, and is treated with due honor. At the same time some of its peculiarities which do not com-

mend themselves to a less polemic and more historical interpretation are sufficiently indicated, with suitable correctives. This volume of the series, with the first, deserves a place in every clergyman's library. The latter can be bought separately; is it not practicable to offer the other also to theological students and others who may not be able to subscribe at once to the whole set? This is no disparagement of any other volume, but simply implies that there is but one Eusebius and one Athanasius.

The influence of successive schools of philosophy upon the formation and development of dogma and theology is now generally recognized. As usual the pendulum has swung to an extreme, and the schools of late have in some quarters been credited with too great an influence. Excellent as are the *Histories of Philosophy* by Erdmann and Ueberweg, there is room for another, and students of divinity, as well as all who are interested in the development of thought and ideas, may well be grateful to Dr. Tufts, of the University of Chicago, for his very readable translation of Dr. Windelband's "*Geschichte der Philosophie*," published this year by Macmillan & Co., New York. I know of no work that presents so clearly in their succession the main problems of past thought, or brings out so connectedly and concentratedly the preparation that was made by the ancient philosophy for the introduction of Christianity, or that exhibits more justly the relations between it and the Christian thought of the first Christian centuries. It is gratifying to follow a writer so thoroughly imbued with the principles of his own science, and so controlled by them, and who recognizes as something lying right along his path the new Christian motives, and distinctive Christian conceptions, in the progress of philosophy, and who does not claim for the latter more than its just dues in the shaping of ecclesiastical dogmas. The book deserves the attention of all who would learn how thought has come to be what it is, and who would themselves "learn to think." We should add that the work covers not only the ancient and the patristic periods, but the mediæval era and the modern.

I can only name, as seemingly a useful guide-book for students, and serviceable also for maturer readers, Professor Armstrong's translation of Falckenberg's "*History of Modern Philosophy*," just published by Henry Holt & Company, New York. The book, says the translator, "is intended to furnish a manual which shall be at once scientific and popular, one to stand midway between the exhaustive expositions of the larger histories and the meagre sketches of the compendiums."

Dr. Hamilton A. Hill's "*History of the Old South Church (Third Church)*," Boston, published, 1890, in two attractive volumes by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., was recognized at once upon its appearance as a work of superior value, not only as the faithful record of the life of an important and prominent church, but as a contribution to the civil and political as well as religious history of the country. Through such a history one may come very close to the source of whatever New England

has contributed to the life and true greatness of this country. The book deserves the special attention of all, not trained from childhood under our institutions, who would gain a knowledge of them from within. It has taken a permanent place in our literature, and will have an increasing value as the years move on.

Another fresh and important contribution to church history is Professor Williston Walker's "The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," published this year by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Beginning with extracts from one of Robert Browne's tracts (1582), the texts of the leading historical documents down to the creed of 1883 are reproduced in their original forms, making an invaluable collection for study. They are accompanied with notes, and preceded by historical introductions and by summaries of the literature. The work throughout, so far as I have examined it, is very accurate, and the introductions are marked by a clear perception of successive historical situations and values. They are also very readable, and taken together review, though from a special point of view and along a particular line, the entire history of modern Congregationalism. Among the original investigations which the book contains, that of the history of the covenant and creed of the church at Salem is a specially successful and brilliant piece of work. The statement of the motive of the Half-Way Covenant also deserves individual notice, as does the position taken respecting the application of doctrinal tests to candidates for membership in the early New England churches. It is noticeable, however, that the Cambridge platform expressly limits the requirements to repentance and faith in Christ, and even to "the weakest measure of faith." The record quoted in this "Review" (vol. xi. pp. 69, 70), of an admission upon assent to the Apostles' Creed is also noteworthy. But one critical suggestion of importance occurs to me, and this I offer with some degree of reserve, lest in a necessarily rapid reading I may have overlooked some statement that would show it to be uncalled for. The suggestion is, that the distinction of New England and American Congregationalism, through its combination with local autonomy of fellowship, is not sufficiently brought out. The earlier New England fathers happily failed in their attempt to restrain the democratic tendencies of the churches, but they succeeded to a good degree and no less happily in counterbalancing the individualism of mere Independency. The Cambridge platform puts each and every local church into a common relation, as a church, to Christ "not only as a mystical but as a political head," and approves the *obligation* of church communion on this basis, and sets forth an agency and methods of this political fellowship. This principle has had a development, both in itself and in relation to the coördinate principle of autonomy. Professor Walker notices again and again in different forms the interdependence of the churches, but I have failed to observe a recognition of it in its ground and obligation and development into agencies and ways of fellow-

ship such as the documents and connected facts reveal as a part of the history. Do they not suggest, also, some qualification of the remark that "Robert Browne must be accounted the father of modern Congregationalism?" The democratic principle has triumphed over Barrowism, but is not the tendency now setting strongly and healthily to a development of churches in their relation to the whole organism and to the kingdom of God among men? If these suggestions are of value, they would not, I should add, require the alteration of any sentence in this volume, so far as I recall, save the one just quoted, but simply an increased explicitness and completeness of statement, especially in dealing with the Cambridge and Boston (1865) platforms.

Space forbids more than a reference to four other works. Rev. R. J. Knowling publishes through Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 15 East 16th Street, a learned and valuable "Study in Modern Criticism," with the superior title "The Witness of the Epistles." Its object is to show from the generally and well-nigh universally acknowledged Epistles of St. Paul how firm a historical basis may be found in them for an acceptance of the facts of the Christian creed. The argument is valid and timely. There is a very full account of its treatment by other writers.

Dr. H. B. Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, England, gives us the best edition of the newly discovered fragment of the Petrine Gospel which has yet appeared: "The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter, edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices." (Macmillan & Co. 1893.) After a thorough discussion of its literary relations he concludes that it was written about A. D. 165. "The conditions are those of the age which followed Justin, and not of that which preceded him." This opinion respecting the date seems to me to have, as the evidence stands, the greater probability, as I have before stated ("Andover Review," xix. 265, 266).

From the same publishers comes another volume issued by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund: "Biblical Essays, by the late J. B. Lightfoot, D. D., D. C. L., LL. D., Lord Bishop of Durham." About one third of what is here published has appeared before in periodicals. It includes a paper by the late Dr. Hunt. The remainder of the volume is made up from notes for lectures at Cambridge on Introduction to Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles, excursions for a commentary on Thessalonians, and the evidence, external and internal, for the authenticity and genuineness of St. John's Gospel. The notes have been filled out in part from the lecture-books of pupils. All of this material was prepared before the author's transference in 1879 from his professorship to his episcopal office. Discussion of the Fourth Gospel has made such progress that the notes here published are inadequate, yet it was well to bring them out, for the emphasis they put upon the external evidence, and for valuable incidental opinions and suggestions. The notes on Ephesians treat of the "Destination" of this Epistle, and were used by their author as late as 1873. The discussion of the Pastoral Epistles deals with their

date. An attempt is made to sketch "St. Paul's History after the close of the Acts." This volume, occupied with prolegomena, is to be followed by another containing "selections from commentaries on the text" which are deemed "fullest and most valuable."

Mr. George S. Merriam has given us a somewhat unique and a very delightful memorial of Noah Porter. (Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893.) A number of friends unite in contributing to the book, each viewing the man in some special phase of his many-sided character and life and varied official positions. These are woven together with rare literary skill by the editor, who also contributes freely from his own recollections and his knowledge of New England educational, religious, and theological history. It is a worthy tribute to one who deserves to be remembered not only through his published writings, but in the noble personal traits which this memorial brings very clearly and fully to light.

I may specially acknowledge, also, the recent reception by the "Review," from Messrs. Macmillan & Co., of "Principles of Political Economy," by Dr. J. S. Nicholson, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh. The work, as stated in the preface, has grown out of the use, as a text-book, of Mill's "Principles," and embodies what the author deems of most value in the treatment of the subject since Mill's work was written. It also avails itself of the attention which has of late years been paid to the history of the science, and makes free use of this history in the "statement of principles." Of its relative value I am not competent to judge, but I have found it attractive and instructive.

Egbert C. Smyth.

BOOKS RECEIVED.¹

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| <i>Congregational S. S. and Publishing Society, Boston.</i> | <i>A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.</i> |
| NARUSE, J. A Modern Paul in Japan. Pp. 178. \$1.00. | THE SERMON BIBLE. Colossians—James. Pp. 376. \$1.50. |
| <i>Journal of Biblical Literature, New Haven.</i> | <i>The Baker & Taylor Co., New York.</i> |
| MUSS-ARNOLT, W. The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and their Regents. (Reprint from Journal of Bibl. Lit., Vol. XI.) Pp. 40. (Paper.) | DIXON, A. C. Milk and Meat. Twenty-four Sermons. Pp. 275. \$1.25. |
| <i>E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.</i> | GUIREY, G. The Hallowed Day. Pp. xvi, 286. \$1.25. |
| PHILLIPS BROOKS YEAR BOOK. Selections from the Writings of the Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D. D. By H. L. S. and L. H. S. Pp. 366. \$1.25. | STRONG, J. The New Era. Pp. xx, 274. 75 cents. |
| | <i>Macmillan & Co., New York.</i> |
| | SMITH, G. The United States. An Outline of Political History. Pp. 312. \$2.00. |
| | SWETE, H. B. The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter. Pp. xlviii, 34. |

¹ See also SUPPLEMENTARY LIST, pp. 781, 782.

- Hunt & Eaton, New York ; Cranston & Curtis, Cincinnati.*
- TERRY, M. S. The Prophecies of Daniel. Pp. 136. 75 cents.
- VINCENT, J. H. Two Letters to a Minister by Paul the Apostle. Pp. 47. 20 cents. (Paper.)
- WARREN, H. W. Exegetical Studies. The Pentateuch and Isaiah. Pp. 46. 40 cents.
- Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.*
- ROBINSON, C. H. The Church and Her Teaching. Pp. xv, 69.
- T. F. Neely, Chicago and New York.*
- GREENE, N. L. Nance : a Story of Kentucky Feuds. Pp. 257. (Paper.)
- Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago and New York.*
- ODLIN, J. E. New Concepts of Old Dogmas. A Book of Sermons. Pp. 292. \$1.25.
- Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.*
- THE DEFENCE OF PROFESSOR BRIGGS. The Case against Professor Briggs, Part III. Pp. 311. 75 cents. (Paper.)
- FISHER, G. P. Manual of Natural Theology. Pp. x, 94. 75 cents.
- Underhill & Nichols, Buffalo.*
- THE NIAGARA BOOK. Sketches, Stories, and Essays. By W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, Prof. N. S. Shaler, and others. Pp. 225. \$1.25.
- American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia.*
- SPRATT, D. E. W. Married Life. Pp. 64. 75 cents.
- Press of the Friedenwald Co., Baltimore.*
- BIEN, H. M. Ben-Beor. A Historical Story. Pp. ix, 528.
- Government Printing Office, Washington.*
- MACDONALD, A. Abnormal Man. Essays on Education and Crime and Related Subjects. With Digests of Literature and a Bibliography. Pp. 445.
- Transactions of the American Philological Association. Vol. XXIII. 1892.*
- MUSS-ARNOLT, W. Semitic Words in Greek and Latin. Pp. 36-156. (Paper.)
- Elliot Stock, London.*
- PETAVEL, E. The Problem of Immortality. Translated from the French by Frederick Ash Freer. Pp. xviii, 597. (Imported by Macmillan & Co.)
- J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg-i.-B.*
- SAMMLUNG ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften. Viertes Heft. Augustin : De Catechizandis Rudibus. Hrsg. von A. Wolfhard. Zweite, vollständig neubearbeitete Ausgabe von G. Krüger. Pp. xv, 76. 1.40 M.
- SIEBECK, H. Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie. Pp. xv, 456. 10 M. Gebunden, 12.50 M.
- N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Marburg.*
- DEISSMANN, G. A. Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu" untersucht. Pp. x, 136. 2.50 M.
- J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.*
- HENNECKE, E. Die Apologie des Aristides. (Texte und Untersuchungen. IV. Band, Heft 3.) Pp. xx, 63. 3 M.
- ROLFFS, E. Das Indulgenz-Edict des römischen Bischofs Kallist. (Texte und Untersuchungen. XI. Band, Heft 3.) Pp. vii, 136. 4.50 M.
- WEISS, B. Die Apostelgeschichte. Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung. Pp. 313. 10 M.

C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, Braunschweig.

THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT.
Hrsg. von H. Holtzmann. Zweiter
Band (Lit. des Jahres 1892). Zweite
Abtheilung: historische Theologie.
Pp. 149-378. 7 M. Dritte Abthei-
lung: systematische Theologie. Pp.
379-452. 3 M.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

Geo. H. Ellis, Boston.

SAVAGE, M. J. Jesus and Modern
Life. Pp. 230. \$1.00.

*Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and
New York.*

JACKSON, G. A. The Son of a Prophet.
Pp. viii, 394. \$1.25.

RUSSELL, A. P. Sub - Cælum. A
Sky-built Human World. Pp. 267.
\$1.25.

THATCHER, O. J. A Sketch of the
History of the Apostolic Church.
Pp. 312. \$1.25.

The Little-Book Publishing Co., Boston.

GORDON, J. L. I, Myself. Pp. 85.
\$1.00.

Henry Holt & Co., New York.

FALCKENBERG, R. History of Mod-
ern Philosophy. Translated by A.
C. Armstrong, Jr. Pp. xv, 655.
\$3.50.

*Hunt & Eaton, New York; Cranston &
Curtis, Cincinnati.*

DE WITT, J. Life's Battle Won. Pp.
372. \$1.50.

GIFFORD, M. Laws of the Soul. Pp.
204. 75 cents.

HURLBUT, J., and DOHERTY, R. Illus-
trative Notes. A Guide to the
Study of the Sunday-school Lessons.
Pp. 396. \$1.25.

RISHALL, C. W. The Higher Criti-
cism. Pp. 214. 75 cents.

ROBINSON, S. V. A Physician's Notes
on Apostolic Times. (The Book of
Books Series.) Pp. 43. 20 cents.
(Paper.)

STRONG, J. The Student's Commen-
tary. A Complete Hermeneutical
Manual of the Book of Ecclesiastes.
Pp. xl, 144. \$2.00.

THOUGHTS on God and Man. Selec-
tions from the works of F. W.
Robertson. Edited by J. B. Bur-
roughs. Pp. 306. \$1.00.

TIFFANY, O. H. Pulpit and Platform.
Sermons and Addresses. Pp. 251.
\$1.25.

*Macmillan & Co., New York and
London.*

ASHMORE, S. G. The Adelphoe of
Terence. Pp. lxxviii, 208. \$1.00.

BATES, K. L. The English Religious
Drama. Pp. 254. \$1.50.

COSSA, L. An Introduction to the
Study of Political Economy. Trans-
lated by Louis Dyer, M. A. Pp. 586.
\$2.60.

HILL, D. J. Genetic Philosophy. Pp.
xiii, 382. \$1.75.

KNIGHT, W. Aspects of Theism. Pp.
viii, 220. \$2.25.

LIGHTFOOT, J. B. Biblical Essays.
Pp. xiv, 448. \$3.00.

NICHOLSON, J. S. Principles of Po-
litical Economy. Vol. I. Pp. xiii,
452. \$3.00.

WINDELBAND, W. A History of Phi-
losophy. Translated by James H.
Tufts, Ph. D. Pp. xiii, 659. \$5.00.

WYATT, C. H. The English Citizen:
His Life and Duties. Pp. viii, 248.
75 cents.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

THE KING and the Kingdom. A Study
of the Four Gospels. Part I. pp.
vii, 331. Part II. pp. vii, 354. Part
III. pp. vii, 340.

Saalfeld & Fitch, New York.

WILLIAMS, F. P. A True Son of Lib-
erty. Pp. 190. 50 cents. (Paper.)

- Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.*
- NOAH PORTER: A Memorial by Friends. Edited by Geo. S. Merriam. Pp. 306. \$2.00.
- SCHAFF, P. Theological Propædæutic. Pp. xii, 536, 60. \$3.00.
- SHEDD, W. G. T. Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy. Pp. ix, 297. \$2.00.
- WALKER, W. The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism. Pp. viii, 604. \$3.50.
- Adam & Charles Black, London.*
- SIDGWICK, A. The Process of Argument. A Contribution to Logic. Pp. viii, 235. \$1.25.
- C. J. Clay & Sons, London.*
- LUMBY, J. R. The Second Book of the Kings. (Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.) Pp. 157. 1 s.
- PLUMMER, A. The Gospel according to St. John. (Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.) Pp. 160. 1 s.
- T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.*
- ROOKE, T. G. Inspiration, and Other Lectures. Pp. xvi, 261. \$3.00. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.)
- J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg-i.-B.*
- ACHELIS, E. Praktische Theologie. Pp. xiv, 283. 5 M. Gebunden, 6 M.
- BALTZER, O. Ausgewählte Sermonen des Heiligen Bernhard über das Hohelied. (Sammlung ausgewählter Quellschriften, siebentes Heft.) Pp. xvi, 104. 1.80 M.
- DIE PSALMEN. Uebersetzt von E. Kautzsch. Pp. iv, 213. 1 M. Gebunden, 1.50 M.
- GRAFE, E. Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz. Zweite Auflage. Pp. 33. 70 pf.
- RITSCHL, A. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Pp. vi, 247. 6 M. Gebunden, 8 M.
- SEYDEL, R. Religionsphilosophie im Umriss. Mit historisch-kritischer Einleitung über die Religionsphilosophie seit Kant. Pp. xix, 396. 9 M. Gebunden, 11 M.
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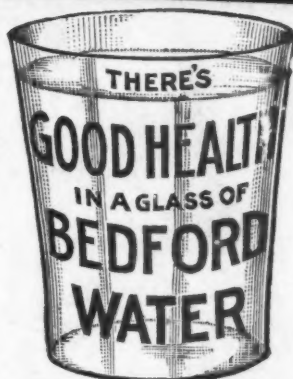
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